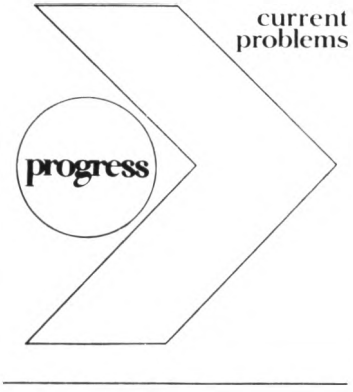
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NINA BOGOMOLOVA

"Human Relations" Doctrine: Ideological Weapon of the Monopolies


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"Human Relations" Doctrine: Ideological Weapon of the Monopolies

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Translated from the Russian by
KATHERINE JUDELSON

Богомолова

ДОКТРИНА
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INTRODUCTION

The process of the transition from capitalism to socialism is reflected in the fierce struggle between two ideologies—the revolutionary ideology of the working class and the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie. One of the ideological weapons of present-day capitalism widely used in the United States and other capitalist countries is what has come to be known as the doctrine of "human relations". Like other theories advocating capitalism this one is designed to undermine the labour movement from within in an attempt to integrate it into the capitalist system.

In its active opposition to the labour movement monopoly capital frequently resorts to open violence, cruel police harassment and anti-labour legislation. In the Central Committee's Report to the 24th Congress of the CPSU it was pointed out: "In the conditions of the confrontation with socialism, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries are afraid more than they have ever been of the class struggle developing into a massive revolutionary movement. Hence, the bourgeoisie's striving to use more camouflaged forms of exploitation and oppression of the working people ... in order to keep the masses under its ideological and political control as far as possible."[1] These words may well be applied to "human relations".

Those who advocate "human relations in industry" attempt with the help of subtle psychological methods to create

[1] *24th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1971, p. 20.

among workers the illusion that in present conditions employers and workers can become "equal partners" with common interest in the success of "their" factory and in the establishment of "good human relations".[1]

The "human relations" doctrine stands apart from other pro-capitalist theories on account of the fact that it is concerned not so much with general socio-economic and political concepts but rather with devising concrete methods for the ideological "conditioning" of workers in the factory.

The theory and practice of "human relations" are simultaneously directed towards a number of goals all in the interests of the capitalist:

to mitigate the contradictions between employers and workers in industry, to stifle the workers' urge to engage in class struggle and prevent workers coming under the influence of communist ideas;

to make supervision of the workers in the course of the production process easier for the management and ensure that the work of the former proceeds as smoothly as possible;

to create among workers the illusion that their work involves a moral responsibility in order to intensify their exploitation.

Given these goals it is necessary to single out the following aspects of the theory and practice of "human relations", namely the ideological, organisational and socio-economic aspects which are closely interconnected. This book takes a look at the ideological and theoretical basis and concrete techniques for the ideological conditioning of workers by methods advocated for the practical application of the doctrine of "human relations".

[1] In modern bourgeois American publications devoted to relations between workers and employers the term "human relations in industry" or simply "human relations" is used, as well as the terms "labour relations" or "industrial relations". Sometimes they are interchangeable. However, the term "labour relations" is mainly used to designate relations defined in collective agreements or by state legislation. The term "human relations" mostly refers to relations between workers and employers which are not regulated by reference to legal norms and therefore are concerned with moral and psychological rather than legal factors. The term "industrial relations" usually embraces both the above-mentioned concepts.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL BASIS OF "HUMAN RELATIONS" DOCTRINE

1. THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF "HUMAN RELATIONS"

In any perusal of the background to the emergence and development of this doctrine it is imperative to bear in mind the socio-economic factors and objective processes underlying the organisation of capitalist production.

The foundations of the theory and practice of "human relations" took shape in the twenties and thirties, namely that period of the first stage in the general crisis of capitalism, when the whole world capitalist system and above all the United States were hit by the unprecedented economic crisis of 1929-1932 from which the bourgeoisie went to desperate lengths to extract itself.

The emergence of "human relations" doctrine and its wide dissemination were called forth by the high level of productive forces at that time, when the high degree of mechanisation in capitalist production while reducing physical stress, involved considerable nervous stress. Employers found themselves compelled to focus their attention on the "psychological" or "human" factor in industry, in so far as the mental state of the workers and their interest in their work were starting to determine productivity levels to an increasing degree.

Growing concentration and specialisation of production were demanding more precise co-ordination in the work of all sections of an enterprise. Researchers and executives established that the relations between individual members of production teams were important with regard to the attainment of this end.

At this period industry was becoming much more capital intensive. In the middle of the last century there was an average of $500 worth of equipment per worker in American industry, whereas by the 1930s this figure had risen to several tens of thousands of dollars.[1] Any hold-up resulting from a breakdown of equipment for which workers were responsible or strikes or high labour turnover caused the monopolies enormous losses. It is thus not surprising that the giants of monopoly capital started showing so much more interest in ensuring that the workers showed a "dedicated attitude" to their work and the interests of the company.

Technological progress produced major changes in the workers themselves: their level of education and professional skills rose considerably. By 1940 32 per cent of the total US labour force had completed four years of high school or more.[2] Between 1900 and 1940 the proportion of skilled workers rose from 29.5 per cent to 30.2 per cent, that of semi-skilled workers from 35.7 per cent to 46.2 per cent while unskilled workers accounted for 23.6 per cent of the labour force in 1940 as opposed to 34.8 per cent in 1900.[3] The workers' sense of personal dignity had asserted itself and their material and cultural aspirations had changed beyond recognition. For this reason as the bourgeois American economist William Knowles has admitted, workers started demanding more and more resolutely and insistently that they be treated as human beings.

The "human relations" approach was also partly a reaction to the one-sided nature of the Taylor system that dominated in the twenties and thirties and was openly designed to intensify exploitation by raising productivity levels through improved organisation of production and the maximum utilisation of the workers' strictly physical capacities. The Taylor system, as Lenin pointed out in his day, is essentially full of contradictions. On the one hand since it reflected the objective requirements for the development of social

[1] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, Düsseldorf, 1956, S. 20.
[2] *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1965, p. 517.
[3] See *Sovremenny rabochii klass kapitalisticheskikh stran* (The Modern Working Class in the Capitalist Countries), Moscow, 1965, p. 123.

production it contained "a number of the greatest scientific achievements in the field of ... elaboration of correct methods of work, the introduction of the best system of accounting and control, etc."[1] On the other hand since it reflected the selfish interests of the bourgeoisie the Taylor system was a manifestation of "brutality of bourgeois exploitation".[2] Taylor openly stated that "each shop exists ... for the purpose of paying dividends to its owners".[3] He regarded the worker as an appendage to the machine who ought blindly to carry out a specific set of purely mechanical operations that have become completely automatic. Every worker was regarded by Taylor not as a member of a team but as a separate unit motivated by nothing but interest in money.

Although the Taylor system did result in a certain rise in productivity of labour, eventually the system found itself at a "dead-end", nothing but a scientific means of wringing the last drop of sweat from the worker, in so far as the ruthless exploitation of workers through methods advocated by Taylor sooner or later leads to the virtual exhaustion of the labour force. In the thirties among workers from highly mechanised factories the phenomenon of "industrial blues" that takes the form of apathy among the workers, depression, heightened irritability and a complete loss of interest in work, etc., became widespread. These phenomena could not but arouse uneasiness among employers since they led to a drop in labour productivity, to absenteeism, high labour turnover, and, in addition, to a deterioration in relations between the workers on the one hand and the owners and the management on the other. It is no accident that the American sociologist D. S. Beach drew attention to the fact that the application of the Taylor system "mudded the waters" of labour management relations and caused innumerable disputes.[4]

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 259.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Quoted from *Readings in Human Relations*, Ed. by K. Davis and William J. Scott, New York, 1959, p. 361.
[4] D. S. Beach, *Personnel: The Management of People at Work*, New York, 1965, p. 24.

The exacerbation of class antagonisms and the resolute character of the strike movement in the United States accelerated the introduction of the "human relations" approach. Between 1929 and 1934 over 3.5 million workers took part in strikes, the army of unemployed swelled considerably and the famous "hunger marches" were organised. The enormous wave of strikes in the thirties involved millions of workers from the steel, motor, textile, electrical and other industries. This mass action of the American working class compelled the US Congress pass the Wagner Act (1935) that gave workers the right to organise trade unions and conclude collective agreements; the unions then started to grow very quickly. In 1930 7 per cent of the US working class was enrolled in unions, while the figure had reached 23 per cent by 1944.[1] Certain representatives of the monopolies and many bourgeois sociologists openly state that the monopolies' interest in "human relations" can be explained largely by the growth of the labour movement and the expansion of the trade unions. Indeed, an assistant to the president of Standard Oil Company, one of the largest US corporations, admitted that "as labour relations became more critical, the emphasis has shifted to ways of improving human relations".[2]

The Austrian author Robert Jungk notes that the corporations hoped by resorting to such methods to stem "the wave of anti-capitalist sentiment" among workers and "take the ground from under the feet of present-day movements for social revolution".[3]

The emergence and evolution of the "human relations" approach must be viewed in the light of the correlation of the class forces not only in a national but also in an international context. Here mention must be made of the influence on the world of those changes that were ushered in by the

[1] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, New York, 1964, p. 311.

[2] *Human Relations for Management. The Newer Perspective*, Ed. by E. C. Bursk, New York, 1956, p. 106; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 28; S. Barkin, "A Trade Unionist Appraises Management Personnel Philosophy", *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, Paris, 1956, p. 134; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, New York, 1962, pp. 9-10; G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, Paris 1963, p. 124.

[3] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, Berne-Stuttgart-Wien, 1963, S. 150, 156.

October Revolution. The construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, and the successes scored by socialist production based on radically new relations between men have exerted a most powerful influence on relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in all spheres including that of production. In order to retain their dominant position capitalists have found it more and more essential to evolve their own "positive" measures in answer to the challenge of socialism, referred to generally in the works of bourgeois authors as the "communist threat from outside".[1] This to a large extent was also the task that the advocates of "human relations" set themselves.

The basic tenets of this doctrine were formulated by the American sociologist, Elton Mayo, in the late twenties and early thirties. The immediate stimulus for their elaboration was the experiment conducted under Mayo's supervision at the Western Electric telephone equipment factories, in Hawthorne near Chicago, which all in all covered a period of twelve years (1924-1936).

In 1924 Western Electric in conjunction with the Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences embarked on a study of the effect on labour productivity of lighting at the individual assembler's station. This research was carried out over a period of three years and the results of the experiment appeared "puzzling" to those conducting it: the productivity of those workers in test rooms where lighting was deliberately dimmed proved to be almost identical to that recorded in rooms with normal lighting.

In order to solve this "puzzle" in the spring of 1927 it was decided to pick out a group of six relay assemblers and continue research with them. The women workers were told that they would be taking part in an important experiment aimed at improving working conditions for all workers at the factory. They were transferred from a room where as a rule 100 persons worked to another separate room much smaller in size. A special observer was constantly present in the test room making a thorough note each day not only of the women's output and their working conditions but also

[1] W. H. Knowles, *Personnel Management. A Human Relations Approach*, New York, 1955, p. 23.

their moods, comments and the relationships between them, etc. Every six weeks the women were put through a detailed medical inspection. Apart from all this, details of their home backgrounds and the environments in which they moved outside working hours were listed and questions covering extremely intimate ground were put to them in the course of individual interviews.

A large group of psychologists, sociologists and doctors, together with engineers and administrative personnel from Western Electric,[1] took part in the Hawthorne experiment. At periodic intervals, on eleven occasions altogether, during one and a half years, changes were made in the experimental group's working conditions: the duration of the working day was altered, supplementary rest pauses of between five and fifteen minutes were introduced and free lunches were provided at set times, etc. Meanwhile the team's productivity level rose steadily.

In April 1928 Elton Mayo, a lecturer from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, was invited to come to evaluate the results of the research so far and advise how the experiment should be conducted subsequently.

At that time Elton Mayo's name was little known. An Australian by origin he had graduated from Adelaide University and then went on to train as a psychiatrist before leaving for the United States in 1919. He first started working at Pennsylvania University and then proceeded to Harvard Business School where he remained from 1926 till 1947, eventually being put in charge of the special department for "human relations in industry". The Hawthorne experiment brought him wide fame and bourgeois sociologists all consider Mayo to be the "father" of "human relations" and industrial sociology.[2]

Before the Hawthorne experiment Mayo was investigat-

[1] Special mention should be made of Fritz Roethlisberger and the management representative William Dickson who published a detailed paper describing the Hawthorne experiment entitled *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, 1939). This paper that was first published in 1939 is reprinted almost annually and has been translated into a large number of languages.

[2] Elton Mayo's main ideas are expounded in his books: *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization,* New York, 1933; *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization,* Boston, 1945.

ing the influence of various working conditions on workers' output at a number of American factories. After joining the other Hawthorne researchers in September 1928 he recommended that all the improvements which had been introduced be withdrawn and the original working conditions restored. The researchers expected that output would show an immediate drop, however, to their surprise the team's productivity continued to improve. Then the supplementary 15 minute rest pause and the free lunches were reintroduced and productivity went on improving. This naturally led the researchers to the conclusion that there were other as yet unspecified factors involved affecting the output of experimental group more than the changes in working conditions. Mayo and his colleagues maintained that these factors were of a "psychological nature", namely that the women were convinced of the importance of the experiment in which they were taking part. In the course of the experiment a "democratic atmosphere" had grown up. The women had been told in advance about all the changes to be introduced in working conditions, they were consulted and their comments listened to and discussed.[1] This approach boosted the women's morale and freed them of their fear of the "boss". The chief observer took a personal interest in each woman worker and her achievement and "showed pride in the record of the group".[2]

The interest of both the management and the sociologists was centred on this team. In the opinion of the researchers as a result of the experiments the women had come to understand their "significance for the community" and acquired a real interest in their work and a sense of group solidarity, etc., which had made possible increased output regardless of changes in physical working conditions. This led Mayo to attribute decisive importance to the "psychological" or "human" factor in production, particularly the feelings and moods of workers and the personal "human relations" which take shape during the actual process of work.

One of the research techniques used at Hawthorne was

[1] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, New York, 1933, p. 69.

[2] Ibid., p. 68.

the interview with the women during which the sociologists tried to find out how they themselves explained the rise in their productivity. In the course of these interviews it emerged that the women explained their high output figures not so much as a result of supplementary rest pauses and free lunches, but as a result of the "good atmosphere" in the team and the absence of the overseer who had constantly chivvied them, instilling them with uneasiness.[1] In order to supplement and corroborate the results of this experiment and to draw up recommendations for the instruction of management personnel in more effective methods of management, the researchers of the Hawthorne experiment decided to interview workers from other teams and shops in the same factory. Between 1928 and 1930 almost 21,000 members of the total labour force (numbering close on 40,000) were interviewed.[2] First the workers were asked questions of interest to the management and the sociologists. These directive interviews took an average of thirty minutes. After mid 1929 the character of these interviews changed to some extent, they became non-directive. In the course of an interview lasting 90 minutes the conversation would imperceptibly be brought round to a subject of interest to the researchers designed to help them, as Mayo writes, "to find out from each worker what he wants to say" and also "what he does not want to say".[3]

The findings collected in these interviews provided the management with a valuable source of information about the general condition of morale in the factory and likewise about factors influencing the workers' attitude to their work and to the management. Furthermore it also came to light that interviews of this type had a supposedly soothing or therapeutic effect, in that they gave the workers a chance to "get things off their chest" and thus gave them an outlet for some of their emotional tension.

On the basis of this material Mayo and his colleagues concluded that emotions, moods and sub-conscious factors exert

[1] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization,* p. 78.

[2] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1946, p. 204.

[3] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization,* p. 88.

influence on the individual's behaviour, and therefore man more often than not behaves "illogically" or "irrationally". This assumption led them to suggest that the cause of the workers' discontent and complaints should be sought not in their actual working conditions but first and foremost in the individual worker's mood stemming possibly from indisposition or from family upsets, etc., from the response to "basic instincts" and even such things as an external resemblance between the foreman and some hated relative, etc. Mayo and Roethlisberger maintained that the workers themselves were not capable of determining the reasons for their discontent and that therefore in the course of the interviews they should be "helped" to reach an understanding of the reasons, which, the researchers believed, were connected with distinctive features of their character, relationships within their family and other factors independent of the management. The researchers considered that "help" of this kind should channel the moods and thought patterns of the worker in a direction desirable for the management and promote the adaptation of the worker to the "industrial structure", i.e., to the requirements of the capitalist factory, thus furthering an improvement in relations between the workers and the management.

In 1931 the Hawthorne researchers were obliged to stop the mass interview programme on account of the shaky position of Western Electric as a result of the mounting economic crisis. They restricted themselves to a limited range of interviews in order to amass experience and planned to revert to mass surveys once the situation improved. This occurred in 1936 and a carefully planned programme of individual interviews got off the ground once more, interviews that were referred to as "personnel counselling" or simply "counselling". The basic methods evolved in Hawthorne for "counselling" industrial workers were widely used both during and after World War II.

In the conclusions drawn by those running the Hawthorne experiment considerable importance was attached to the question of the influence of the group or collective on the behaviour of individual workers. Social anthropologists, whom Mayo invited to Hawthorne, in particular W. Lloyd Warner, called his attention to the fact that it was not enough

to study the morale of individual workers in order to understand the processes at work in the shop or team in so far as these workers were not just individuals but members of a specific group within which definite rules take shape that determine the members' attitude to one another, to their bosses and to company policy.

In order to examine relationships within the production team and their influence on output and the behaviour of workers, the researchers embarked on some new research in November 1931. This time they used a 14-man team of panel-welders. They were not transferred to a special test room but continued working in conditions typical of those for the greater part of the factory. The team was under observation for six and a half months, and the relevant research findings led Mayo and his colleagues to conclude that at any factory there exist both official relations between workers, determined by the technical organisation of production, and unofficial or "informal" relations and personal ties that develop spontaneously, independent of official directions. The latter, according to Roethlisberger, constitute the so-called social organisation of a factory.

On the basis of these findings the concept of "formal" and "informal" groups was adopted by Mayo and his followers. By "formal" groups they meant collectives and groups in any organisation, be it industrial, state, military or any other kind functioning according to official directives. The administration in such groups is carried out according to rank: for example, in a factory a team headed by a charge-hand or a shop headed by a shop supervisor fall into this category. "Informal" groups include groups of workers that take shape spontaneously on a basis of mutual sympathy, personal friendship, common interests and hobbies, similarity of character, etc. These groups as a rule embrace only small numbers and they develop their own habits, "rules", obligations and even rituals. Relations in such groups vary with regard to the closeness of the ties linking members together. They can fall apart quickly or last for long periods.

After a detailed study of the influence of both "formal" and "informal" organisations on the behaviour of workers, the researchers became convinced that the effect of the "informal" groups was extremely significant. They were often

more important than an official organisation with regard to such vital questions as productivity of labour and workers' attitude to their employers and their company. The Hawthorne researchers discovered that "sometimes the informal organization develops in opposition to the formal organization"[1], i.e., to the company management, it can sabotage decisions of the management, as a group conduct a go-slow and instigate actions directed against the management and employers. In the panel-welders' team at Hawthorne sociologists discovered that the workers often slowed down their pace of work in accordance with their conception of what the norm for a day's output should be, and the management, whatever means it might use, was powerless to surmount the resistance of the "informal" group to accelerated work rates. Roethlisberger regarded the maintenance of uniform output records often lower than the stipulated one by all members of the group, as a kind of mechanism by which they sought to protect themselves from the management.[2] However when the management succeeded in arousing the interest of certain "informal" groups or winning them over to their side as was the case with the team of relay assemblers, they not only did not obstruct the management but on the contrary even helped the management achieve their goals.

The researchers at Hawthorne discovered that all "informal" groups had their own unofficial leaders recognised by the workers, whose influence and authority were often more important for the workers than the authority and orders of the official management.[3] It is precisely the example and instructions of such leaders that industrial workers follow for the most part.

These conclusions later served as a basis for the elaboration of methods recommended for the practical application of "human relations in industry" aimed at placing the "informal" groups and their leaders and their own norms of behaviour at the service of the monopolies' interests.

Thus the Hawthorne experiment, which had started with an assessment of the effect of specific working conditions on

[1] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 559.
[2] Ibid., p. 523.
[3] Ibid., p. 380.

productivity, developed into a broad programme for singling out motives behind the workers' conduct and finding means for bringing the appropriate influence to bear on them.

The Hawthorne experiment is regarded as classic in bourgeois sociological literature. Not a single bourgeois sociological textbook fails to mention it. The Western Electric factory where the experiment was conducted receives an average of 4,000 visitors a year.[1] As the British sociologist A. Sykes has pointed out, "Hawthorne still remains a potent influence on industrial sociology and an even greater influence on the applied field of human relations and personnel management".[2]

The Hawthorne experiment as an example of sociological research in industry is of definite scientific interest and the conclusions it led to contain a certain degree of objective truth.

Psychological factors do indeed play an increasingly important role in modern industry and for this reason personal relationships that take shape within the industrial group and the morale of workers should be studied. However the basic flaw inherent in the Hawthorne research is that psychological factors and personal relationships are assessed by Mayo as something self-contained, and are separated from socio-economic and class relations in capitalist society.

In both his books Mayo writes in tones of alarm that contemporary society is characterised by a social split, growing hostility and hatred between various social groups, and an absence of mutual understanding between employers and workers. He states that the number of unhappy people is constantly on the increase, that workers feel themselves lost, alienated and have no understanding of their social functions or social significance, lack confidence in their present position let alone their future, as a result of which they easily become the victims of personal worries, obsessions and start making extreme, exaggerated demands on life.

[1] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 187.

[2] A. Sykes, "A Study in Changing the Attitudes and Stereotypes of Industrial Workers", *Human Relations*, Vol. 17, No. 2, May 1964, p. 253.

What is more, Mayo and his fellow researchers at Hawthorne start out from the assumption that the capitalist system is "rational" and "unshakeable" and all their efforts are in fact directed towards helping that system overcome the problems it encounters at the expense of the workers. The following words of Marx and Engels concerning bourgeois socialists are most apt in connection with Mayo and his colleagues: "The Socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements.... The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois Socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie."[1]

Mayo's conviction that modern capitalist society must and can be cured of the ills that beset it, without any change in its socio-economic structure comes to the foremost clearly in his conception of the so-called "established" and "adaptive" societies.

For Mayo there exists neither capitalism nor socialism but simply contemporary industrial civilisation, whose problems are of a purely "human" nature and do not stem either from people's class backgrounds or modes of production or political forms of government. The joyless picture of contemporary society Mayo contrasts with his ill-founded conception of pre-industrial society, which he referred to as "established".

Mayo provides no economic, social or political definition of this "established" society, essentially it embraces all forms of social organisation prior to the industrial revolution, indeed he even mentions the social structures to be found among primitive tribes. According to Mayo, in that

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 133.

ideal society there existed no conflicts or antagonisms, it was characterised by "strong social ties", "spontaneous co-operation" between all its members and the voluntary subordination of the individual's interests to those of the group.[1]

Rapid industrial growth and technological progress, Mayo stressed, disrupt established links and earlier forms of spontaneous co-operation, but the formation of new links does not keep up with the changes resulting from technological progress. The equilibrium that once existed in society, Mayo maintained, is collapsing, and this could lead to chaos and anarchy if society does not find the necessary ways and means of adapting people to the new conditions. According to Mayo "established society" would be replaced by an "adaptive society". The latter unlike the "established society" would not be in a position to ensure the "spontaneous co-operation" of its members. Therefore in order to restore the lost equilibrium and to remove the conflicts tearing society apart it is necessary to have recourse to social skills, by which Mayo understood the "ability to secure co-operation between people",[2] or in other words the ability by psychological means to adapt people to the conditions obtaining in capitalist society, and above all the conditions of industrial production. Mayo's basic ideas on this question were summed up by William Dickson, one of his fellow researchers at Hawthorne in an exchange with Robert Jungk. As a result of the great changes that have taken place in recent decades, the man of today has for the most part been torn out of that solid framework, which gave the life of his forbears stability and reliable values. Family, community, church and school have lost their stabilising influence. Previously the place a man worked at was only one of several firm social institutions, whereas today it is often the only secure anchor in man's existence from which modern man seeks all that he used to glean from relatives, neighbours, teachers and priests: security, recognition for his achievement, sympathy and

[1] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 159; *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 6.

[2] E. Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 33.

advice in difficult situations.[1] It is precisely this which in the opinion of Mayo and his disciples should be made clear to workers through "social skills" designed to promote co-operation in industry and society.

Mayo held that the theoretical elaboration of social skills is the department of sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists, while their practical application should be the concern of the high administrators in particular the industrial elite, i.e., those directing and managing industrial enterprises. They should arm themselves with specific knowledge from the fields of sociology and psychology that constitute the foundation of these social skills, and then proceed in the appropriate way to assess and solve the concrete problems that arise when co-operation is being promoted, thereby "bringing order into social chaos"[2] and rescuing industrial civilisation.

Mayo's concepts of the "established" and "adaptive" societies reflected actual processes and antagonisms at work in capitalist society. Capitalist development does indeed give rise to an abrupt collapse of social and personal relationships and make an increasing number of people unhappy, depriving them of any certainty about what the future holds; capitalist society is indeed characterised by social divisions and growing animosity and hatred between different social groups. Yet all these phenomena were interpreted by Mayo from a subjective idealist angle. Bourgeois academic to the last, he was not able to go as far as the realisation that these phenomena were engendered by the capitalist system. He saw not capitalist exploitation but technological progress as the cause of the grim position of the industrial workers. When writing that workers are coming to feel more and more lost, alienated and unaware of their social function and social significance, Mayo was singling out but *one* trend typical of the mood of *part* of the working class, while ignoring the most important trend, namely the proletariat's growing class consciousness and organisation manifesting itself in the proletariat's increasingly intense class struggle and ever more conspicuous role in social life.

[1] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*. S. 189.
[2] E. Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 21.

Taken all in all Mayo's concepts of the "established" and "adaptive" societies were not widely adopted in bourgeois sociology. However certain of these propositions have been subsequently elaborated in various of the bourgeois theories currently popular. This applies in particular to Mayo's idea of the special role of the industrial elite, which fits in so well with the modern idea of the "managerial revolution" and to his thesis that "human problems of industrial organization remain identical for Moscow, Rome, London, Paris and New York",[1] a thesis typical of the modern concept of the "united single industrial society".

Mayo's general sociological concepts and likewise his practical conclusions concerning the relationships and behaviour of industrial workers were naturally not just the result of the Hawthorne experiment. To a large extent Mayo was making use of ideas formerly expounded by a number of sociologists and psychologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On a number of occasions for example, he refers to the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) who saw the advance of contemporary industrial society to be destroying harmonious social contacts and undermining solidarity and co-operation—developments which he saw as arousing in men a sense of isolation and loneliness, an anxiety condition. Mayo also refers to works by the French psychiatrist, Pierre Janet who maintained that the diseases most typical of modern society were anxiety and obsessions appearing when men fall prey to "false ideas" and "false concepts" that lead to "illogical, irrational" actions. Mayo's conclusions to the effect that it was imperative to allow for the possibility of illogical actions owe a good deal to the ideas of Vilfredo Pareto (1846-1923). It was also from him that Mayo took ideas concerning the role of the elite in modern society, the need to achieve equilibrium in society and the group, and social organisation, etc. The American sociologist, John B. Knox, maintained that Pareto's treatise on general sociology provided the major theoretical framework for the Hawthorne experiment.[2]

[1] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 1.

[2] J. B. Knox, "Sociological Theory and Industrial Sociology", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 417.

"Non-directive" interviewing and "personnel counselling" and Mayo's and his colleagues' attempts to single out the reasons underlying the workers' complaints and discontent in response to their "basic instincts"[1] and the peculiarities of the life-style of this or that individual worker clearly belied the influence of Sigmund Freud's theories based on psychoanalysis. Mayo himself admitted as much. "Personnel counselling" in keeping with the "human relations" approach is basically a type of Freudian psychoanalysis.

Therefore most of Mayo's ideas were not really original, with the exception of his postulates concerning "formal" and "informal" groups. However unlike the ideas of other sociologists, those put forward by Mayo and his followers attracted attention and "became respectable in business circles".[2] The American sociologists, Bell and Sirjamaki who also took part in the Hawthorne experiments pointed out that "the discoveries derived from human study initiated the courtship of sociology by industrial management. The science of human relations is the child of that union."[3]

The corporations' interest in Mayo's ideas, (not in his general sociological concepts of the "established" and "adaptive" societies but in the practical conclusions concerning the establishment of "human relations in industry") can be explained above all by the fact that they appeared at a period when they could be exceptionally useful to big business, namely when the general crisis of capitalism was becoming more acute. Another factor of no small importance in this connection was that Mayo's basic ideas and conclusions were of a utilitarian, applied nature. The widespread adoption of these ideas can also be traced back to the considerable authority enjoyed by the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, which had long been in close collaboration with the management of the leading industrial corporations of the United States and was one of the main centres for training management personnel for American industry.

[1] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, pp. 111, 126-127.

[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations in Business*, New York, 1957, p. 7.

[3] F. Bell and J. Sirjamaki, *Social Foundations of Human Behavior*, New York, 1965, p. 576.

In the thirties a special "human relations" department was set up at Harvard Business School and a university course in the subject was arranged in 1936. Mayo's books were followed in 1939 by Roethlisberger and Dickson's paper *Management and the Worker*. In 1943 a special research centre, the first of its kind, the Committee on Human Relations in Industry was organised at the University of Chicago by a number of sociologists, two of whom—Burleigh Gardner and Lloyd Warner—had taken part in the Hawthorne experiment, and six industrial firms in the Chicago area.[1]

The doctrine of "human relations" was gaining more and more supporters.

It was in its heyday in the late forties and fifties, by which time the basic principles of the theory had been formulated and new experience in its practical application had been amassed. Monopoly capital hoped by this means to surmount the new problems which had arisen during the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, when the factors which had originally engendered the Mayo theory in the thirties loomed much larger than before.[2]

After the setting up of the world socialist system the appeal of socialist ideas was enhanced beyond measure. In the United States the trade union movement was going from strength to strength. By 1945 the number of union members had reached 14,796,000 and in 1956 it was 18,447,000. Millions of American workers in key sectors of industry rallied together in trade unions, now represented a formidable force for monopoly capital to contend with.

The unprecedented rate of technological progress in industry led to major qualitative changes and structural shifts in the composition of the labour force of the capitalist countries. The level of education attained by workers was considerably higher; for example in the United States, accord-

[1] W. F. Whyte, *Men at Work*, Homewood, 1962, pp. 10-11; E. Bell and J. Sirjamaki, *Social Foundations of Human Behaviour*, p. 578; *Review of Sociology. Analysis of a Decade*, Ed. by Y. B. Gittler, New York, 1957, p. 293.

[2] These factors still operate now at a time when the "human relations" theory is being brought more up to date, as will be shown in Chapter III.

ing to official figures, the proportion of workers aged between 18 and 64, who had completed 4 years of high school or more rose from 32 in 1940 to 54.9 per cent in 1962[1] and to 57 per cent by 1964.[2] Between 1941 and 1968 the number of skilled workers increased by 50 per cent and the number of unskilled workers dropped by 44.5 per cent.[3]

A considerable postwar increase in the number of engineers and technical and administrative personnel, who in the USA are included in the category of white-collar workers as opposed to that of industrial or blue-collar workers, also facilitated the wide-scale adoption of "human relations" in industrial practice. The specific nature of the first category's work that demands primarily mental effort is particularly well-suited to the application of "human relations" methods. In 1956 white-collar workers outnumbered blue-collar workers for the first time.[4] According to official figures in 1960 white-collar workers accounted for 45.7 per cent of the US gainfully employed population and blue-collar workers for under 40 per cent.[5] The proportion of engineers and technical and administrative personnel was particularly high in progressive branches of the economy. In 1962-1964 they accounted for close on 50 per cent of all personnel employed in the chemical industry and over 60 per cent of all personnel employed in the atomic power industry.[6]

Automation leads to intensification of labour. In 1955 at a conference held at Yale University to discuss socio-economic aspects of automation numerous statements by operators were cited which testified to the fact that their work involved a high degree of nervous tension and that in

[1] *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1963, pp. 504-15.
[2] Ibid., May 1965, p. 517.
[3] See *World Marxist Review*, 1969, No. 3.
[4] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, pp. 18-19.
[5] *Monthly Labor Review*, January 1961, p. 12.
[6] See *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya* (World Economics and International Relations), 1967, No. 5, p. 56.

numerous cases they would have preferred eight hours of strenuous physical exertion.[1]

It is therefore not surprising that even bourgeois writers admit that work of this type fills most workers with a sense of resignation, shame and hatred.[2]

After World War II class antagonisms grew tenser in the United States as was reflected particularly clearly in the spread of the strike movement. The largest wave of strikes was that which swept across the country in the second half of the forties. Between 1927 and 1939 an average of 1,772 strikes took place annually, involving 773,000 people, while between 1946 and 1950 the figures rose to 3,974,000 and 2,122,000 respectively.

The bourgeoisie responded to this intensification of the class struggle with a series of anti-labour and anti-communist laws, and intervention on the part of state-monopoly capital in the relations between labour and capital became much more prevalent. Meanwhile in the factories themselves the bourgeoisie was obliged to resort to the "human relations" approach in an attempt artificially to smooth over class contradictions.

It was precisely at that period that a series of books by bourgeois sociologists started appearing which urged industrialists to take into account the changed situation and draw the necessary conclusions. These writers urged that tact and

[1] See V. S. Semyonov, *Sovremenny rabochii klass kapitalisticheskikh stran* (The Modern Working Class in the Capitalist Countries), Moscow, 1965, p. 25. Highly revealing in this context are also the words of the wife of a worker from a large American factory, cited by the American economist R. H. Guest at a conference held in Michigan University; she related that her husband "comes home at night, plops down in the chair and just sits for about fifteen minutes. I don't know much about what he does in the plant but it does something to him. Of course I shouldn't complain. He gets a good pay. But sometimes I wonder whether these are more important than having Joe got all nervous and tensed up; he snaps at the kids and he snaps at me—but he doesn't mean it." (R. H. Guest, *The Impact of Changing Technology on Human Relations*, 1957; "The Emerging Environment of Industrial Relations", Michigan, 1957, p. 51.)

[2] *Man Alone. Alienation in Modern Society*, Ed. by Eric and Mary Josephson, New York, 1964, pp. 24, 107.

diplomacy were now required in relations with industrial workers rather than coercive methods.[1]

The use by the bourgeoisie of a more subtle policy of "diplomacy" and a certain amount of "liberalism", as well as coercion and repression in its struggle against the labour movement was no radically new departure. Lenin in his day had written: "If the tactics of the bourgeoisie were always uniform, or at least of the same kind, the working class would rapidly learn to reply to them by tactics just as uniform or of the same kind. But, as a matter of fact, in every country the bourgeoisie inevitably devises two systems of rule, two methods of fighting for its interests and of maintaining its domination, and these methods at times succeed each other and at times are interwoven in various combinations. The first of these is the method of force, the method which rejects all concessions to the labour movement, the method of supporting all the old and obsolete institutions, the method of irreconcilably rejecting reforms.... The second is the method of 'liberalism', of steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions, and so forth."[2] Inherent in the latter method is the risk that a section of the workers allow themselves to be deceived by the apparent concessions on the part of the bourgeoisie, which invites the spread of revisionism in the labour movement.

The "human relations" approach which was evolved in the most advanced capitalist country, where the bourgeoisie, as Lenin pointed out, is "unequalled anywhere in the world in the art of deceiving, corrupting and bribing the workers"[3] gradually started to spread to other advanced capitalist countries.

As these ideas started spreading to other countries, various modifications reflecting the actual conditions in the countries in question appeared: for instance, in Italy the "human

[1] *Human Relations and Modern Management*, Ed. by E. M. Hugh-Jones, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 127; *Research in Industrial Human Relations. A Critical Appraisal*, Ed. by C. M. Arensberg, New York, 1957, p. 57.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 350.

[3] Ibid., Vol. 12, p. 373.

relations" approach became a tool of the Catholic associations working in collaboration with monopoly capital, and acquired a religious flavour. In West Germany and Austria the Social-Democrats took over specific tenets of the overall method, incorporating them into their theory of "social partnership". In France these ideas found expression in the "humanisation of labour" theory propounded by the well-known bourgeois sociologist Georges Friedmann and also in the setting up of the Association of Labour and Capital. In Britain the "human relations" approach influenced among other things the practice of "consultation between management and workers".

Practical methods for implementing "human relations" principles also vary as a result of the specific conditions pertaining in the countries concerned. For example in West Germany which has special legislation covering the activity of works councils in industry, it is the legal aspect which is given prominence in the establishment of direct relations between the workers, the management and the employers. In that country sociologists and psychologists are employed in industry on a much smaller scale than in the United States, nor is such wide use made of tests, mass surveys designed to assess workers' morale and the initiation of technological supervisors into the basic principles of psychology and industrial sociology. The West German system of "employee representation" also differs significantly from the American one, in that the latter is not regulated by the state and the scale and the forms it takes depend completely on the wishes of the employers, in cases where there are no unions, and otherwise on the collective agreements concluded between trade unions and corporations.

Yet such developments as the corporations' publication of special house journals for factory workers, attempts to introduce non-cash incentives and various welfare and cultural schemes that constitute an integral part of the practice of "human relations", are but a few of the many common elements to be found in the American and West German variations as well as those in other capitalist countries.

By the fifties "human relations" had become a most fashionable theory and "seemed to have almost universal

managerial approval".[1] The giants of monopoly capital started to propagate it on a broad front. Henry Ford II for instance declared in his day that a solution of the problem of "human relations" in industrial production would open the door to "opportunities perhaps greater than any of us can imagine".[2] Representatives of the Detroit Edison Company commented that "research in human relations is just as important and may be even more rewarding than research in the physical sciences in the light of problems and needs in the world today".[3] F. McCormick, the president of International Harvester Co., considered that the very survival of American industry depended on the success with which the "human relations" approach was adopted.

A good number of universities now started taking part in the elaboration of the theory and practice of "human relations" and also in the training of students and management personnel in the "social skills" involved. This subject was approved as material suitable for doctoral theses. The American research centres, whose work in this field was to become particularly well-known, include Harvard, Chicago, Cornell, Yale and Illinois universities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Michigan University's Institute for Social Research and the "Human Relations" Research Group at UCLA. On frequent occasions the universities drew up contracts with corporations for whom they carried out specific research projects connected with "human relations". Close collaboration in this work evolved between the American colleges and corporations, as moreover in other fields also of immediate interest to the latter. The American sociologist William Whyte drew attention to this particular aspect of the research in his book *Organization Man*, "the union between the world of organization and the college has been so cemented that today's seniors can expect a continuity between the college and the life thereafter that we never did."[4]

[1] L. Baritz, *The Servants of Power. A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry*, Middletown, Connecticut, 1960, p. 173.

[2] Quotation from K. Davis, *Human Relations in Business*, p. 7.

[3] *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, p. 151.

[4] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, New York, 1957, p. 69. This extremely close collaboration between the monopolies on the one hand

American industrial corporations did not begrudge funds allocated to research in the field of "human relations". Well over a million dollars[1] was spent on the Hawthorne experiment alone, the bulk of which was an endowment from the Rockefeller Foundation.[2] In the forties Ford Motor Company began a $500,000 research programme in "human relations".[3] Corporations also set aside considerable sums for subsidies to universities that carry out research projects for them and train management personnel. According to figures published in the journal *Business Week*, in 1960, the monopolies allocated $178,000,000 to the universities and the figures for 1962 and 1964 were 200 and 250 million respectively.[4]

Bourgeois scientists working on the theory and practice of "human relations" are indisputably serving the interests of monopoly capital. Some of them are primarily concerned with turning their knowledge into a lucrative "business". These traders in science share the ideas, aims and convictions of those who pay them, and zealously carry out the orders of corporations and state institutions, while others are compelled to serve the monopolies' interests in view of the fact that they are dependent on them. Some corporations tie the hands of the sociologists and psychologists working for them still more by obliging them to acknowledge officially the "usefulness", "desirability" and the "necessity" of the "principles and functions of business".[5] The work of such scientists and its consequences are aptly summed up by the liberal American sociologist L. Baritz: "Industrial social scientists have usually been salaried men, doing what they

and universities and research centres on the other for the study of "human" and "industrial" relations was commented upon by many European delegations visiting the United States to study these questions. In particular they singled out the significant degree to which the capitalist countries of Europe lagged behind the USA in this field (*L'Enseignement concernant les relations entre employeurs et travailleurs*, Paris, 1962).

[1] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 77.

[2] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. XIV.

[3] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 144.

[4] *Business Week*, December 25, 1965, p. 84.

[5] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 198.

were told to do and doing it well—and therefore endangering those other personal, group, class and institutional interests which were opposed to the further domination by the modern corporation of the mood and direction of American life. Endangering most have been the millions of workers who have been forced or seduced into submission to the ministrations of industrial social scientists."[1]

Some of these bourgeois social scientists working in this field attempt to represent themselves as neutral and concerned only with the advance of scientific knowledge, and therefore not responsible for the ends to which their findings are used. The well-known American sociologists, D. C. Miller and W. H. Form wrote in their book entitled *Industrial Sociology*: "Industrial sociologists need not be concerned with the applications of their findings, or who will apply them. If their work has scientific merit, it will be used by many groups including labor or management."[2] Similar views are to be found in the works of Keith Davis, W. Scott, William F. Whyte and others.

This "neutrality" of the bourgeois sociologists and psychologists in fact promotes the interests of monopoly capital. In the United States, according to Baritz, "from the pioneers in industrial psychology to the sophisticated human relations experts of the 1950s almost all industrial social scientists have either backed away from the political and ethical implications of their work or have faced these considerations from the point of view of management".[3] Only a small number of liberally inclined scientists in the USA expose the pro-capitalist character of the theory and practice of "human relations".

The corporations, which were the first to promote "human relations" research and to apply its findings in practice on a really wide scale, were the giants of electronics and the chemical, aviation, automobile and steel industries along with other advanced branches: General Electric, General Motors, Standard Oil, Ford, Chrysler, United States Steel Corporation, to name but a few. They had great need of such meth-

[1] Ibid.
[2] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 12.
[3] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 190.

ods and had the largest funds at their disposal for applying them. In 1945 the big business organisation, the Society for Advancement of Management inaugurated special prizes for achievements in "human relations" in industrial practice. The tycoons to whom such prizes were subsequently awarded included Henry Ford II, Robert Lynch, President of Atlantic Steel Corporation, L. R. Boulware, Vice-President of General Electric Company.[1]

Many corporations started setting up departments with sizeable staffs to study personnel questions, including those directly related to "human relations". In companies where the workers are organised in trade unions, these departments as a rule are called "industrial relations departments" while in companies where no union exists they are generally called the personnel departments.[2] Similar departments had existed earlier but they were working on purely organisational problems; hiring and firing, redeployment of workers, disciplinary measures. Now their functions were expanded to include negotiations with unions, training of workers and management personnel, morale-boosting, promulgation of the management's ideals, objectives, company rules, so that "the workers do not yield to the pleas of agitators who represent outside interests".[3] In other words the corporations considered the enormously powerful and constantly expanding flow of bourgeois propaganda machine to which the workers were exposed through mass media, inadequate, and started subjecting them to an intensive onslaught of bourgeois ideas on the spot at work.

In view of the fact that matters of "human relations" were just as important for the success of the company as technical and financial factors,[4] by the fifties "in most large companies the top industrial relations man had attained the rank of vice-president", and was thus on a par with those in charge of technical, financial and sales departments.[5] The bud-

[1] *Advanced Management Journal*, September 1963, p. 51.

[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 54.

[3] E. Roscoe, *Organization for Production*, Homewood, Illinois, 1963, pp. 293, 302.

[4] *Readings in Human Relations*, pp. 28-29.

[5] *Research in Industrial Human Relations*, p. 171; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 64.

gets for "personnel departments" in US companies doubled between 1950 and 1960.[1] By the sixties the number of staff in these departments accounted for an average of 75 per cent per 100 corporation employees.[2] A detailed file is drawn up on each worker with information on his efficiency, his "reliability" and his private life. Robert Jungk relates how the deputy head of the personnel department in one American corporation proudly showed him the files kept on every employee and all those who had applied to the company for work. These files contained for example information from local credit agencies about each worker's financial circumstances, references from instructors and former employers, reports submitted by private detectives on his private life and the results of efficiency and reliability tests.[3]

"Industrial relations" or "personnel departments" employ permanent "human relations" experts. In large companies they are often psychologists. The results of a questionnaire sent round to 36 American corporations with a total staff of 815,000 revealed that by the end of the forties over ten of them employed psychologists on a full-time basis in these departments.[4] Many of the "human relations" experts on the permanent staff had come into industry from the army where psychological methods were made particularly wide use of during World War II for selection and training purposes.

In the fifties certain corporations instituted a post for so-called social engineers in industry whose functions included work in planning and the introduction of "human relations" techniques.

Only large firms can afford to employ professional psychologists on their permanent staff. Most industrial companies prefer to use the services of the numerous firms of private consultants, of which there are over 500 in the United

[1] See *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya*, 1966, No. 4, p. 63.

[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel. . .*, p. 65.

[3] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 205.

[4] *Human Relations in Industry. Die Menschlichen Beziehungen in der Industrie, Beobachtung einer deutschen Studiengruppe in USA*, München, 1956, S. 61.

States.[1] Usually these are special associations of psychologists, or consultant firms specialising in "human relations" or "public relations".[2] Industry resorts to the help of such firms, according to R. Jungk, as soon as any serious signs of social apathy appear, such as drops in output, intradepartmental conflicts and threats of strikes. Consultant firms immediately send out their troubleshooters to investigate the "restless mass". They distribute questionnaires and forms to be filled in, interview all staff individually and install bugging devices in order to record "candid reactions" not intended for the ears of outsiders.[3]

The services of these psychologists and sociologists are far from cheap; they can range from $3,000 a month for specific consultations to $100,000 a year for a long-term contract.[4] Robert McMurry, for example, who is one of the most successful practitioners in this field, reportedly received $125 an hour for consultations with owners of industrial companies anxious to pinpoint the reasons behind "their difficulties with labour".[5]

In the second half of the forties and in the fifties the theory of "human relations" was supplemented by certain new ideas from the fields of sociology and psychology. Certain tenets from modern bourgeois socio-economic theories bolstering capitalism were introduced: the ideas of the "transformation" of modern capitalism into some kind of "humane", "people's" capitalism, the "managerial revolution" and "common" interests uniting labour and capital, etc. In other words the "human relations" doctrine has acquired a political basis so that its theory and practice should not only promote the economic interests of individual employers and corporations, but also the political interests of the monopo-

[1] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 77.

[2] The concept "public relations" is used very widely in the USA and it covers a wide range of problems. Apart from "human relations" inside the factory, it also covers questions concerning relations between corporation executives and the "outside world": the population in the areas where factories of the given corporation are situated, shareholders, consumers, the national press, government bodies and state institutions, etc.

[3] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 165.

[4] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 80.

[5] V. Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, New York, 1965, p. 179.

list bourgeoisie as a whole. Viewed in this light it is clear that the doctrine of "human relations" has become an ideological weapon, with the help of which monopoly capital hopes, as the experts themselves admit, to come out on top in the world of today that is divided by "antagonistic philosophies"[1] and reconcile workers to the ideals and faith upon which the whole way of life of the Western World rests.

Thus the "human relations" doctrine which came into being as a means of intensifying exploitation has evolved to become one of monopoly capital's major weapons in its ideological warfare against the working class.

2. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS IN "HUMAN RELATIONS"

"Human relations" theory is based mainly on conclusions drawn by bourgeois sociologists and psychologists. In their efforts to channel workers' behaviour in a direction to suit the purposes of capital, the men responsible for the theoretical side of "human relations" concentrate first and foremost on psychological analysis of the individual's motivation. The theoretical basis for this analysis consists primarily of ideas that embrace neo-Freudian propositions on the one hand, explaining the individual's behaviour mainly in terms of innate instincts and sub-conscious impulses, and on the other, the theories of the behaviourists according to which man's behaviour consists of external reactions and conditioned reflexes acquired in the course of life experience in relation to which consciousness is not the decisive factor.

Those sociologists who evolved the theory of "human relations" consider that precisely innate instincts and man's most elementary reactions to his environment lie at the root of his needs and determine all his actions. In postwar American writings on "human relations" this point is given particular prominence. The majority of social scientists refer to the works by their compatriot Abraham Maslow, particularly in connection with his interpretation of the role of needs in the individual's behaviour which are expounded in

[1] *Human Relations for Management. The Newer Perspective,* Ed. by E. C. Bursk, New York, 1956, pp. 29, 106.

his book *Motivation and Personality*.[1] Maslow holds that any action can be explained by the individual's urge to satisfy his needs. He classifies man's needs by dividing them into two categories, primary or innate needs and secondary needs acquired by the individual from interaction with his environment. In the first category belong physiological needs, i.e., those stemming from innate instincts (the need for food, shelter, rest and to ensure continuation of the species, etc.). Secondary needs Maslow divides into social or public needs that are determined by relationships within society, and ego-needs connected with the individual's attitude to himself, his assessment of his own personality and the development of his personality. Under the heading social needs come communication, love and respect from friends and associates, the need to belong to some kind of group, a sense of being necessary to someone and a sense of security with regard to present position and future prospects, or in other words, purely psychological needs. A man's ego-needs find expression, according to Maslow, in his self-respect, in his sense of his own importance, in his urge for creative freedom and independence in the development of his personality, etc.

Both these categories Maslow sub-divides into various groups and puts forward the concept of so-called hierarchy of needs, according to which the individual endeavours first and foremost to satisfy his vital needs of a lower order, i.e., his biological needs, but the more he succeeds in satisfying these the more important becomes the influence on the individual's behaviour of unsatisfied needs of a higher order. At the same time, Maslow points out, the individual's needs are constantly growing. Maslow propounded the following sequence of needs:

1. Basic physiological needs;
2. Safety from external danger;
3. Love, affection and social activity;
4. Esteem and self-respect;
5. Self-realisation and accomplishment.

The advocates of the "human relations" approach, who accept Maslow's premises without reservation, hold that in the US conditions the workers' primary needs are satisfied

[1] A. H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, New York, 1954.

and therefore in order to achieve higher productivity and the "willing obedience" of the workers it is essential to pay attention to the satisfaction of needs of a higher order, namely those of Maslow's second, third and fourth groups. The American psychologist Daniel Krakauer wrote in this connection: "We are only beginning to realise that, besides proteins and vitamins, people must be nourished with feelings of security and friendship and dignity in order to function well."[1] Another American psychologist and socilogist McGregor stresses the importance of satisfying workers' psychological needs during their labour process at their place of employment.[2]

It is on this that bourgeois psychologists base their explanations for the fact that workers now go out of their way to wrest not merely increased wages and other material concessions (shorter working hours, longer holidays, increased pensions, etc.) from the management and their employers but also demand that they be treated more humanely and given a voice in the affairs of the enterprise they work for.[3]

When considering the role of various needs in determining the nature of man's behaviour, the advocates of the "human relations" approach often criticise the so-called concept of economic man (typical of Taylor's writings and those of his associates) according to which all human behaviour is determined primarily by the urge for material gain based on the instinct for self-preservation. This one-sided concept they contrast with another that is no less one-sided, namely that of "emotional man".[4] This can be summed up as follows: the feelings and moods of the workers, like those of the capital-

[1] Quotation taken from K. Davis, *Human Relations in Business,* New York, 1957, pp. 43-44.

[2] R. McGregor, "Human Side of Enterprise", *Readings in Human Relations,* p. 56.

[3] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...* , p. 18.

[4] This concept is sometimes used in conjunction with that of "social man". Here as in many other instances the term "social" possesses only psychological implications and is devoid of any socio-economic base. According to this line of thinking man desires above all certain shared associations like security, a feeling of belonging and recognition, etc., needs which are strictly psychological in character (D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology,* p. 646; F. Y. Herzberg, *Basic Needs and Satisfactions of Individuals; Behavioral Science Research in Indus-*

ists, exert a stronger influence on their behaviour than aspirations for material gain. Roethlisberger and Dickson, for instance, in their paper on the Hawthorne experiment point out that the results of that research do not bear out the theory according to which workers are motivated above all by economic interests.[1] In later works on "human relations in industry" a number of references were made to the results of questionnaire surveys conducted in American factories, when workers, on being called upon to describe their concept of desirable working conditions, put respect for human dignity, security, recognition, good relations with fellow workers and the opportunity to participate in decision-making before the subject of wages.[2]

Summing up these aspirations of the workers many "human relations" experts concluded that workers are concerned mainly with questions of human relations and not very worried about how much money they take home, and that their dissatisfaction with the existing system can be explained not by economic factors but above all by their lack of fulfilment which makes it imperative "to let a worker feel he is a person and then he ceases to make trouble (for his employer and the management—*N.B.*)".[3]

This point of view found among advocates of the "human relations" approach contains a certain amount of truth. Man's needs do indeed lie at the root of his behaviour. The founders of Marxism stressed several times that man's needs provide the starting point of his activity.[4] Karl Marx, for example, pointed out that "no one can do anything without at the same time doing it for the sake of one or other of his needs and for the sake of the organ of this need. . . ."[5] Marx also

trial Relations. Papers Presented at Symposium Conducted by Industrial Relations Councellors Inc. held at Tarrytown, New York, April 26-27, 1962, pp. 19-22).

[1] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, pp. 557-75.

[2] *Review of Sociology. Analysis of a Decade*, Ed. by J. B. Gittler, p. 308; R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 151.

[3] W. F. Whyte, "Human Relations Theory: A Progress Report", *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1956, p. 127.

[4] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 39-99; F. Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Moscow, 1972, p. 178.

[5] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 282

referred to the infinite variety of man's needs dividing them into natural needs stemming from the necessity of sustaining his physical existence, and needs created by society.[1] The founders of scientific communism emphasised that man's various needs are interlinked in a single natural system and that the satisfaction of material and biological needs is the prerequisite for the satisfaction of spiritual needs.[2]

Man's needs are not constant and unchanging, they never cease to grow. In *The German Ideology,* Marx and Engels wrote: "the satisfaction of the first need (the action of satisfying, and the instrument of satisfaction which has been acquired) leads to new needs".[3]

Yet it is blatantly obvious that the treatment of these questions in the writings of "human relations" experts, who regard the capitalist order as unshakeable, is highly partisan. Maslow's system and the ideas put forward by "human relations" experts deal merely with man's biological and psychological needs completely ignoring the material and spiritual needs of various classes.

According to their concepts the basis of man's needs consists of his inborn instincts and the simplest reactions of his organism to his external environment, that is abstract "human nature", or some kind of plan prepared for man by God[4] identical for all men since they do not change their nature when they put on business suits or working clothes.[5] This approach is fundamentally incorrect.

Although specific biological and psychological needs do indeed influence man's behaviour, these needs do not exhaust the complete diversity of human needs and, what is more important, they are not the decisive factor in human behaviour. The whole course of history shows that the behaviour of human beings and in particular that of large social groups is determined by their material needs, the nature of which is directly dependent on the level of development and the re-

[1] See K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* Moscow, 1970, Appendices, p. 199.

[2] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works,* in one volume, Moscow, 1970, p. 429.

[3] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology,* Moscow, 1968, p. 40.

[4] *Human Relations for Management. The Newer Perspective,* p. 3.

[5] K. Davis, *Human Relations in Business,* p. 20.

quirements of social production, on the whole range of the conditions of life in a given society, on the specific socio-economic position of a group or individual in society, and above all on the relationship of the group or individual to the means of production.

Capitalist production based on private property and exploitation and aimed at securing high profits for the monopolies engenders in the capitalists the need or urge to accumulate capital in view of the fact that it is they who are in possession of the means of production. The urge to extract profit is the subjective expression of objective economic laws of capitalist production and it is this which always determines the behaviour of the capitalist. The bourgeoisie lives "for the sake of money . . ." Engels wrote, "it knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold."[1] The material need of the proletariat can be summed up as the need to have work making possible the satisfaction of its vital needs. Deprived of any means of production and not possessing anything apart from its labour power the proletariat only has one path open to it in the conditions obtaining in capitalist production; it can sell its labour power in order to secure its means of subsistence.

Satisfaction of the working-class needs in capitalist society founded on private ownership of the means of production flounders against the narrowness of capitalist relations, which is one of the most important factors in the social revolution. Frederick Engels wrote that revolution was the irresistible manifestation of "national wants and necessities more or less clearly understood, but very distinctly felt by numerous classes in every country. . . ."[2] The question of the needs which rouse classes to bring about a change in the mode of production authors on "human relations" pass by in silence. All their attention is centred on an analysis of individual needs which they represent as considerations outside class and outside history.

Of course certain of the individual needs resulting from specific conditions of life, inclinations, capacities, physiolog-

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Moscow, 1962, p. 313.

[2] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 301.

ical and psychological potential play a definite role in determining man's behaviour, but as a rule these factors are subordinate to man's basic needs, those of a class, material or spiritual nature. To disregard this is to conceal the most important factor determining the behaviour of social groups in capitalist society, namely the conflict between the basic interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Like the neo-Freudians and the behaviorists, so too do the advocates of "human relations" minimise the role of consciousness in man's behaviour. Their concept of the way in which feelings, emotions and sub-conscious factors dominate human behaviour were stated by Mayo and Roethlisberger who maintained that human behaviour was in the main non-logical and irrational.[1] At the present time ideas of this type constitute an essential part of all works on "human relations in industry". The idea keeps recurring to the effect that there is much that is "unreasoned" in the behaviour of homo sapiens, much that is illogical in his behaviour and that men think with their hearts and not their minds, that "the battle cry of exploitation is not a rational argument, but an emotional slogan".[2] American sociologists W. F. Whyte and F. B. Miller even go so far as to suggest that the main reason behind increased adoption of the "human relations" approach by top executives is the "unconscious desire on the part of management individuals to be loved by workers".[3] Indeed more often than not those actions of workers which contradict the employer's and the management's conception of the workers "usefulness" (such as collective decisions on go-slows when piece rates are introduced) fall into the category of the illogical and irrational. Caught in the grip of traditional bourgeois ideas leading them to assess all actions and all phenomena first and fore-

[1] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, pp. 150-60; F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 557; F. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk", *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1965, p. 37.

[2] R. McMurry, "Conflicts in Human Values", *Harvard Business Review*", May-June 1963, p. 130; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 275; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 245.

[3] W. F. Whyte and F. B. Miller, "Industrial Sociology", *Review of Sociology. Analysis of a Decade*, Ed. by J. B. Gittler, p. 297.

most from the point of view of material advantage and profit, "human relations" experts classify as the "logical" and "rational" the behaviour of employers and executives which is dictated by their race for profits and only those features of workers' behaviour which stem from their desire for material gain. According to "human relations" theory the effect of subconscious factors on the behaviour of the individual is so great and so complex that no untrained person is in a position to understand his own behaviour without the help of a psychologist.

Bourgeois sociologists maintain that workers do not understand for instance the fact that behind demands for wage increases and shorter working hours lies not so much the urge to improve their material situation as the need, that they themselves have not yet recognised, for assertion of "social status", personal dignity and friendly attitudes from those around them.[1] This interpretation is none other than an attempt to present the workers' socio-economic demands as purely psychological concerns.

No one can deny that the psychology of human behaviour is highly complex and that emotions and sub-conscious factors have a definite role to play in this context. However, the decisive factor in the control of man's more elementary psychological functions is consciousness, the highest form of mental activity, that took shape in the actual process of social production. The more developed man's consciousness and conviction in the correctness of his ideas, the more correct and profound his apprehension of the laws of social development, the more powerful the regulating role of his consciousness will be. The high degree of the organised proletariat's revolutionary consciousness stimulates the creative activity of the masses and subordinates to itself even such instincts as the instinct of self-preservation. The belittling of the role of consciousness and stress of the irrational so typical of contemporary bourgeois ideology are designed to fill the worker with a sense of powerlessness and the futility of all attempts to change the world in which he lives. This ap-

[1] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 328; K. Davis, *Human Relations in Business*, p. 293; L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 140; Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organisational Structure", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 64.

proach is aimed at the ideological undermining of the working class.

Extreme exaggeration of the role of feelings, instincts and unconscious actions in the theory of "human relations" goes hand in hand with a magnification of the influence on man's behaviour of his fundamentally subjective perception of reality. This brings out particularly clearly the subjective and idealist aspect of the "human relations" doctrine.

Making capital out of the fact that man's picture of the real world, owing to the subjective nature of its reflection in the human mind, is not an exact copy of that reality, "human relations" experts try to substitute for objective reality and existing social relations subjective and illusory conceptions of the same. In the words of the American sociologist Mason Haire "behavior tends to follow the perception rather than the reality".[1] Roethlisberger emphasises that workers' conceptions of their company, their factory and their work do not reflect the actual state of affairs but vary according to the individual worker's moods, views and psychological associations.[2] If a worker is in a good mood, viewed from the "human relations" angle, he is bound to have a positive view of his superior, his work and his wages and if for some reason he is in a bad mood then he will see the black side of everything, will be dissatisfied with everything, including all that concerns his work. Roethlisberger and Dickson give a most detailed description of a number of cases in which the behaviour of individual workers was influenced by moods and associations.[3]

A number of writers on "human relations" in magnifying the role of subjective perception come to deny objective reality in its philosophical sense. For this reason the word reality often appears in inverted commas in their works and this or that phenomenon is presented as an "inter-related set of feelings, assumptions and perceptions".[4] In their opinion it

[1] *Research in Industrial Human Relations. A Critical Appraisal,* p. 182.

[2] F. Roethlisberger, "The Territory and Skill of the Administrator", *Readings in Human Relations,* p. 14.

[3] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker,* pp. 293-310.

[4] F. Roethlisberger, "The Territory and Skill of the Administrator", *Readings in Human Relations,* p. 15.

is only possible to assess the correctness or incorrectness of those judgements which are connected with purely external irritants: the temperature of the air, the amount of light, etc. As for the workers' complaints with regard to unjustly low wages, bad treatment by the company, etc., it is impossible to establish their veracity, in so far as different people use a different approach when evaluating this or that phenomenon and then again their evaluations vary according to their feelings, moods and views. This approach suits the employers, since it more or less justifies any of their actions.

This inflation of the subjective element in man's perception of the real world that is to be found in the writings of those advocating the "human relations" approach is ill-founded. In the final analysis moods, feelings, habits, conceptions, traditions of various groups are nothing other than reflections of objective reality. These factors are not all-important in so far as the development of society and man's behaviour at any particular stage of that development are shaped by objective laws that are independent of man's consciousness. However, social psychology, like other forms of consciousness, possesses a certain degree of independence and on the strength of this exerts a certain influence on man's behaviour.

Social reality, objective economic and political conditions in this or that society and specific living conditions do not stimulate men's actions in themselves but, as Engels pointed out, after passing through the prism of man's consciousness, in other words not directly but by way of a highly complex as yet little studied psychological process subject to laws of its own. Depending on concrete social circumstances, one and the same psychological mechanism may produce trends either positive or negative, unreasonable or wise and useful to society.[1]

"Human relations" experts were able by means of experiments to single out certain aspects of the functioning of this mechanism. Their research in this field can have a certain amount of practical significance for the encouragement of various concepts, habits and moods, i.e., for the exertion of deliberate influences on social attitudes, which are linked with

[1] See B. F. Porshhnev, *Social Psychology and History*, Moscow, 1970, p. 106.

ideology in a close dialectical relationship. Ideology, which is a reflection of reality at a higher level than psychology, moulds consciousness. However a particular state of the workers' social attitudes can either promote receptiveness to communist ideology and revolutionary action or act as a brake upon them.

The objective position of the working class under capitalism and the socio-economic conditions pertaining in capitalist society create the real prerequisites for the emergence of the workers' hatred for their exploiters, their indignation at the domination of the bourgeoisie and a highly developed sense of comradeship, collective solidarity, organisation, selflessness, humanity, etc., in other words for the assertion of those feelings, moods, habits and traits of character which are the most fruitful ground for assimilation of communist ideology which corresponds to the basic interests of the working class. This was frequently stressed by the founders of Marxism-Leninism.[1] However in capitalist society there are phenomena which corrupt the minds of the workers, engender negative backward aspirations and habits such as aspirations to private ownership and the attendant attitudes, egoism, self-interest, vanity and rivalry which obstruct the assimilation of communist ideas by the working class and its involvement in revolutionary struggle.

These traits of character come to the surface under the influence of relations of private ownership and bourgeois ideology which hold sway in capitalist society. Lenin pointed out in his writings: "The working class spontaneously gravitates towards socialism; nevertheless, most widespread ... bourgeois ideology spontaneously imposes itself upon the working class to a still greater degree."[2] Now, in addition to the spontaneous flood of bourgeois ideology, a specially designed ideological indoctrination of the workers is being practised on an unprecedented scale and sophistication, effected by the capitalist state and the monopolies through the press, radio and television. Trade union bureaucrats and the

[1] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 347-48, 357; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 236; Vol. 21, p. 51; Vol. 30, p. 454.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 386.

workers' aristocracy also serve as channels for bourgeois ideology and attitudes among the working class. The fact that some workers have houses and gardens, etc., of their own also fosters the spread of attitudes typical of the property-owner. Although these factors are not decisive in relation to the position of the working class they still influence people's psychological make-up and must be reckoned with.

The excessive preoccupation with psychology typical of writings by "human relations" experts is to be accounted for not merely by the biased attempts to conceal that the interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie are diametrically opposed to each other, but also by the fact that it is precisely in psychology and psychological methods that they try to find the magic wand that will enable them to reconcile the workers with the domination of the bourgeoisie and to mitigate and do away with the tension in relations between the two sections. Mayo's followers carry out detailed analysis of those means and channels via which relations between workers and employers take shape and also those between the workers themselves. They study various aspects of "communication" such as specific characteristics of workers' oral speech, the concepts and images which make the deepest impression on them. A "common language structure" is elaborated which will "keep together in words, rather than keep separate by words" workers and employers, being "a language of mutually interdependent relations of togetherness, of equilibrium, of adaptation and of growth".[1]

In scientific papers and publications aimed at workers concrete socio-political terms such as "capitalism", "monopoly", "working class" or "bourgeoisie" are replaced by more "neutral" words like "business", "industrial organisation", "employers" and "management". Methods for communication between employers and workers are evolved which make allowances for workers' moods, feelings and concepts. Considerable importance is attached to the ability to listen to what subordinates have to say in such a way as to avoid irritating them, etc.

No less detailed a study is made of the relations that take shape between workers in production teams, particularly in

[1] F. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk", *Harvard Business Review*, October-November 1965, pp. 180, 182.

"small groups" which have a direct bearing on the behaviour of individual workers. In research of this type close reference is made to the conclusions drawn by Mayo and Roethlisberger mentioned earlier, concerning the nature and role of "formal" and "informal" groups. Advocates of the "human relations" approach stress the importance of "informal" groups in factories and their major role in shaping workers' attitude to their work, their employers and the company. They note that the "effectiveness of formal organisation", namely the smooth performance of workers in capitalist factories virtually depends on the attitudes of informal, spontaneously formed groups to their company.[1] The American sociologist Ely Chinoy writes that "unless the personal ties that merge, the practices that spontaneously develop, and the shared values and attitudes of small groups are understood and taken into account by the administrator or executive, they may become dysfunctional, leading to resistance to policy, blocked lines of communication, and even deliberate sabotage of organizational goals".[2] At the same time in writings on "human relations" it is stressed that if such functions of "informal" groups as the effecting of unofficial control of the behaviour of members in the group and the dissemination of rumours are taken into account and put to good use, then "informal" groups instead of promoting resistance to the management, can afford it definite support: it can serve "a very healthy function" and be a safety valve providing an outlet for the workers' dissatisfaction in a direction that holds out no danger for the management.[3]

In order to study and regulate the relationships that grow up within "formal" and "informal" groups, experts concerned with either the theoretical or practical aspects of "human relations" make use of sociometric techniques evolved by the

[1] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, pp. 237-40; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 160; E. Chinoy, *Society. An Introduction to Sociology*, New York, 1961, p. 193; D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 119.

[2] E. Chinoy, *Society. An Introduction to Sociology*, p. 194.

[3] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 282; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, pp. 244-45; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 160; F. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk", *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1965, p. 32.

American psychiatrist and sociologist J. L. Moreno, who defines sociometry as a method for studying "the inner structure of social groups" which are referred to in his writings as "microstructures".[1] For Moreno the microstructure represents a collection of various feelings which members of the group entertain towards each other. This he contrasts with the "macrostructure", the deployment and arrangement in space of the group members according to some organisational pattern or other (for example, the specific position of a member of a production team in a shop, the specific place of a pupil at his desk in the classroom). Moreno regards disparity between macrostructure and microstructure as the main source of social conflicts and of tension in relations within the group. Therefore in order to get rid of tension and social conflicts Moreno suggests that production and other groups should be composed and workers deployed in such a way as to ensure that in the course of a production or learning process communication should proceed mainly between people who experience "psychological attraction" or a liking for each other.

As in Mayo's theories so in Moreno's writings psychological attitudes are viewed in isolation from their economic base. Moreno recommended compiling so-called sociograms which show the state of psychological relations within a group based on mutual like, dislike or indifference. Those engaged in "human relations" research in factories use sociograms also for singling out "informal" groups with their own unofficial leaders, trying to pick them out in places where favourable relations with certain members of production teams have grown up.

Gradually certain aspects of so-called group dynamics were incorporated into "human relations" doctrine: they had been formulated by the German psychologist Kurt Levin (who emigrated to the United States in the 1930s) and also by his followers.[2] The term "group dynamics" used in writings on "human relations" covers forces that take shape within a

[1] See J. L. Moreno, *Sociometry, Experimental Method and the Science of Society*, New York, 1951, p. 8.

[2] In 1945, Kurt Levin organised a special Research Centre for the Study of Group Dynamics at MIT which after his death (1948) was transferred to the State of Michigan where it became the main nucleus of Michigan University's Institute of Social Research.

group and exert a corresponding influence on the members. Research into group dynamics is directed mainly towards learning to understand how and why people behave differently from usual in groups or resist the efforts of those who attempt to modify their behaviour.

Kurt Levin's findings demonstrated that group discussions are more effective in bringing about changes in the concepts and behaviour of the members of these groups than, for example, lectures and other didactic methods. In order to find out whether Levin's conclusions apply to research in industry sociologists Alex Bavelas, Lester Coch and John French conducted special sociological experiments at garment factories of the Harwood Manufacturing Company.[1] The results showed that involvement of workers in discussions of production problems and in the adoption of relevant decisions promotes increased productivity and boosts workers' morale.[2] In the course of these experiments the best results were recorded in the team, whose members were given an explanation of the scheduled technological changes in advance, and were able to participate directly in their introduction.[3]

Research in "group dynamics" led sociologists and psychologists to draw the following concrete conclusions: it is easier to modify the behaviour of people working in a group than that of its individual members separately;[4] in order to change "group ideology" and "group actions" efforts must be made to change the behaviour not of all members of a group at once, but in particular that of its leaders;[5] and the more attractive a group for its members, the more powerful the influence it exerts on them, etc. Those applying "human relations" techniques in practice lost no time in putting these

[1] A. Bavelas, "Some Problems of Organizational Change", in the *Journal of Social Issues*, 1948, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 48-52; L. Coch and J. French, "Overcoming Resistance to Change", *Human Relations*, 1948, Vol. 1, pp. 512-32.

[2] The term "high morale" in bourgeois sociology usually signifies "the workers' loyal attitude to the company" and their "non-material involvement" in their work.

[3] *Some Applications of Behavioral Research*, Ed. by R. Likert and S. P. Hayes Jr., UNESCO, 1957, pp. 51-53.

[4] K. Levin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics", *Human Relations*, 1948, No. 1, p. 34.

[5] Ibid., p. 143.

conclusions to the most effective possible use. They incorporated them into the so-called system of "workers' participation", the gist of which can, as aptly noted by the American economist Lewis Corey, be summed up as follows: "The objectives of this use of group dynamics are to get the workers to accept what management wants them to accept but to make them feel they made or helped to make the decision."[1]

Research into intra-group socio-psychological ties and the influence of the group on the behaviour of the individual touches on a highly important question. Indeed within the group psychological phenomena such as imitation, suggestion, emotional involvement, mental "infection" and other types of psychological contacts and links exert a considerable influence on the behaviour of individual members. However, while recognising the significance of these socio-psychological ties which take shape in production teams, it is essential to note that their independent identity is only relative. In the first place because the "small group" does not exist in a vacuum but constitutes a part of a larger organisation, for instance, a factory, corporation, state or nation. Intra-group ties are dependent on economic, political, legal and other relations existing in any given society. In the second place, like other psychological phenomena and ties intra-group relations are not spontaneous by nature, but reflect specific socio-economic conditions, in which the members of a given group—the workers of a given factory on the one hand, and the employer or management representatives on the other—all find themselves.

Relations based on ownership that lie at the root of contacts between workers and employers find concrete expression in society in the form of relations between individuals. These assume various forms linked with a large number of psychological factors. Karl Marx wrote that "upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life."[2] For "human relations" theoreticians these psycho-

[1] Quotation taken from L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 188.

[2] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 421.

logical factors and relationships acquire a significance all of their own. They single these out and separate them from their socio-economic basis, as a result of which all research and conclusions appear one-sided. This means that even the most highly perfected techniques for research into socio-psychological relations in industry can only promote the regulation of functional ties in factories and at best only a temporary solution for certain of the conflicts which arise between workers and employers.

The substitution of socio-psychological relations for the socio-economic ones in capitalist society comes most strikingly to the fore in the works of writers on "human relations" in their interpretation of class relations and aspects of the class struggle, and in their discussion of the "transformation" of present-day capitalism.

3. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CLASS RELATIONS, AND THE CONCEPTS OF THE "TRANSFORMATION" OF PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM AND "CLASS CO-OPERATION"

A feature which is characteristic of all works devoted to "human relations" is the deliberate omission or distortion of the basic factors which determine the nature of relations of production, such as ownership of the means of production, the division of society into classes, the place and role of the various classes in the social organisation of labour, the scale and form of the appropriation of the social product.

More often than not the authors of such works approach relations between workers and employers from a metaphysical angle, restricting themselves to the framework of the individual enterprise. Some bourgeois sociologists even acknowledge that Mayo and his followers conceive of the enterprise as a stable self-contained system,[1] isolated from the pressures of the world outside "as if in a vacuum".[2]

Like bourgeois sociologists active in a number of other

[1] J. R. Tréanton and J. D. Reynaud, "Industrial Sociology, 1951-1962", *Current Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1963-1964, p. 124.

[2] H. L. Sheppard, "Approaches to Conflict in American Industrial Sociology", *Readings in Human Relations*, Ed. by K. Davis and W. Scott, p. 174.

fields most writers on "human relations" are unwilling to admit the class divisions in American society.[3] They divide all people connected with production into groups according to the functions they perform, for example, those dealing with finance, administration, etc., regardless of their class background. Roethlisberger and Dickson, for instance, maintain that "the personnel could not be divided into an employer and an employee class". Every person in the company from top to bottom was an employee.[2] They also place managers, foremen, technical experts, staff from the accounts department and workers from the shopfloor all in the category of employees.

Here the theory of "human relations" is clearly bound up with modern theories of "managerism" or the "managerial revolution". It is far from a coincidence that an article by Peter Drucker, the leading proponent of "managerism", was placed at the beginning of *Readings in Human Relations* edited by K. Davis and W. Scott which appeared in 1959. Here Drucker attempts to demonstrate that in present-day society, where the number of hired workers has grown considerably, the position of each individual rests not on property, but solely on indispensable function.[3] Drucker passes over in silence the question as to why it falls to the lot of some men to administer and occupy a dominant position in society, while others are allotted a subordinate role. He contends that relations between men working in an industrial enterprise are "completely independent of the mode of distribution of profits", and that the management-worker relationship is bound to be the same "regardless where the profits go, regardless who owns the legal title, regardless how the management is selected and whom it is responsible to".[4] In this connection Marx's words are most relevant, when he points out that "It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of

[1] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 190.

[2] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 542.

[3] P. Drucker, "The Employee Society", *Readings in Human Relations*, Ed. by K. Davis and W. Scott, p. 3.

[4] P. Drucker, *The New Society, the Anatomy of Industrial Order*, New York, 1962, pp. 72, 103.

industry because he is a capitalist. The leadership of industry is an attribute of capital, just as in feudal times the functions of general and judge, were attributes of landed property."[1]

If we dwell for a moment on the function of managers, who in works on "human relations" are often presented as an independent "new ruling group",[2] and whose role in modern bourgeois society is nearly the most important of all, we see that the advocates of the "human relations" approach hope devoutly that as capitalism develops the management of industry will become less and less synonymous with ownership of capital, and will be increasingly placed in the hands of hired personnel, whose number is growing in all advanced capitalist countries. Managers are playing an increasingly prominent role in the system of social production and their position is very different from that of other hired workers in corporations. Meanwhile, the brains behind the "human relations" approach attempt to equate managers with ordinary employees on the purely formal basis that they, like the others, are employed and paid a wage.

Advocates of the "human relations" doctrine pass over in silence the fact that executives unlike other employees reap a sizeable share of the monopoly profits in the form of enormous salaries and bonuses. According to figures published in the magazine *Business Week* the top 900 executives in 1950 were paid salaries averaging about $70,000[3] not counting their enormous bonuses. The well-known American sociologist, C. Wright Mills, draws attention to the fact that several hundred directors and executives from US corporations have an income of over $100,000 a year and that men like Crawford Greenewalt, President of Du Pont de Nemours and Co., Harlow Curtice, an executive vice-president of General Motors, and Eugene G. Grace, President of Bethlehem Steel Corporation, each received in 1952 salaries and bonuses totalling over half a million dollars.[4] In 1955 the president of General Motors received a salary and bonuses

[1] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, p. 332.
[2] P. Drucker, "The Employee Society", *Readings in Human Relations*, Ed. by K. Davis and W. Scott, p. 3.
[3] *Business Week*, May 23, 1953.
[4] See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, New York, 1957, pp. 129-30.

totalling $776,000[1] and the equivalent figure for 1968 was $950,000. By 1970 the income of executives in American monopolies had increased by an average of ten per cent of 1968 figures.[2] Moreover top executives have the opportunity of covering a large part of their private expenditure by company funds with the help of "expense accounts". An unofficial estimate made by the American Treasury Department in 1957 placed the annual total for corporate expense-account outlays at more than 5,000 million dollars and possibly as high as ten thousand million.[3]

Top executives and the managers as a rule possess sizeable shareholdings. This situation has been made possible to a large extent by the practice of granting bonuses to the top management in the form of shares in the corporation that can be purchased at any time at a stable, specially reduced price. This system has been practised on a wide scale in the United States ever since 1950. Bonuses of this type for top corporation executives entitle them to buy as many as 35,000 dollars' worth of shares and more. When the prices of these shares go up the executives, by selling them at the going market price, much higher than those at which they bought the shares, make enormous profits. In 1960 George Romney, an executive from American Motors, made a clear profit of $800,000 from one such transaction. Dealings of this kind have, according to the American author, Bernard Nossiter, become "standard corporate behavior".[4]

The vast majority of executive personnel in the corporations come from families of capitalists and highly paid employees, who were able to give their children the education essential for subsequent work in the administration of modern industry. A study of 900 top-management executives made by *Fortune* magazine in the 1950s showed that nearly two-thirds were the sons of businessmen, while only 2.5 per cent

[1] *Business Week*, June 2, 1956.

[2] *Die Welt*, January 15, 1970.

[3] G. Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America—An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution*. New York, 1962, p. 20.

[4] B. D. Nossiter, *The Mythmakers. An Essay on Power and Wealth*, Boston, 1964, pp. 102, 103.

of the executives still under fifty came from workers' families.[1]

It can thus be seen that top executives in present-day corporations constitute for all intents and purposes part of the capitalist class and so it is not surprising that "they tend to identify their interests closely with those of the owners of the business".[2] It is no accident that C. Wright Mills notes that "the chief executives and the very rich are not two distinct and clearly segregated groups. They are both very much mixed up in the corporate world of property and privilege".[3]

Actual control of the corporations is exercised by the owners, the financial magnates who receive the lion's share of the profits. Managers are the junior partners in the world of monopoly capital, its auxiliary force. American practice has known of no cases in which top executives, risking their all, succeeded in ousting finance capitalists from complete control of the corporations.[4] They help finance capitalists to redeploy surplus value to their own advantage, exploit the labour of others and reap benefit for themselves from such exploitation. An executive of this type appears vis-à-vis the worker as a capitalist in action. The true role and real position of top monopoly executives are concealed in all manner of ways by writers on "human relations in industry". Their substitution of the word "management" for the word "capital" represents an attempt to disguise the class nature of the relations between capital and labour.[5]

Taking the functional principle as the basis for their divison of men into social groups, the social scientists responsible for "human relations" theory prefer not to talk in terms of classes, since division into classes develops unpleasant social implications.[6] In the rare cases when this term is used it is approached like other social concepts, from a

[1] V. Packard, *The Status Seekers, An Exploration of Class Behavior in America*, London, 1960, p. 291.

[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 5.

[3] C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, p. 119.

[4] See S. M. Menshikov, *Millionaires and Managers. The Modern Structure of the US Finance Oligarchy*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 128-34.

[5] See W. Z. Foster, *The Historical Advance of World Socialism*, New York, 1960, p. 47.

[6] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 38.

subjective idealist angle. In all definitions of classes that appear in works by "human relations" experts the most important points are missing, namely their place in social production and their relations to the implements and means of production. They give a whole list of factors which they regard as equally important: wealth, education,[1] family background, work, living accommodation, etc., and also a subjective sense of belonging to this or that class.[2] The concept of "class consciousness" which sometimes appears in works on "human relations" implies not the recognition by this or that class of its position and historic role in society but merely "the psychological awareness of class and positive identification with their own class in a society by members of that society".[3] The American sociologist R. Centers writes that "classes are psycho-social groupings, something that is essentially subjective in character, dependent upon class consciousness (i.e., a feeling of group membership)".[4]

In their efforts to conceal the true position of the working class, advocates of the "human relations" approach resort to demagogic methods such as the categorisation of small shareholders as employers alongside the big capitalists, even including some workers in this group merely on the basis of the fact that they happen to have a few shares. This formal approach is borrowed from the "people's capitalism" theory. In the United States there are more than 22 million with a stake in business[5] but the bulk of these are small shareholders, while 80 per cent of all shares are in the hands of a mere 1.6 per cent of the population.[6]

[1] The well-known American economist John K. Galbraith in an address to the International Congress on Human Relations held in Australia in 1965 stated that the key factor determining class division in society is educational level (*Proceedings of the International Congress on Human Relations*, Melbourne, 1965, p. 22).

[2] A. Rose, *Sociology. The Study of Human Relations*, New York. 1956, p. 558; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 38.

[3] A. Rose, *Sociology. The Study of Human Relations*, p. 257.

[4] A. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton, 1949, p. 27.

[5] *Time*, November 17, 1967, p. 25.

[6] F. Lundberg, *The Rich and the Superrich*, New York, 1968, p. 53.

It goes without saying that in such a situation small shareholders are deprived of any voice in the control of share capital, let alone the use of other people's capital which the finance oligarchy takes upon itself. The possession of a few shares does not change in principle the position of the workers. They are still deprived of any means of production as before. This is precisely what "human relations" experts are unwilling to acknowledge. Making the most of certain external class characteristics such writers attempt to depict the representatives of antagonistic classes as separate individuals carrying out various functions in production and linked together by purely personal relationships without any socio-economic basis.

The reduction of social ties to personal ones is not a new technique. Similar attempts have been made by representatives of a number of idealistic schools and trends. It was precisely for this approach to questions of class that Marx and Engels in their day criticised the Young Hegelian, Stirner, who did not want "two individuals to be in contradiction to one another, as bourgeois and proletarian; he protests against the special which forms the advantage of the bourgeois over the proletarian; he would like to have them enter into a purely personal relation, to associate with one another merely as individuals".[1]

In their criticism of such views Marx and Engels demonstrated that these views belied an attempt to conceal the antagonistic essence of relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is precisely this aim that present-day "human relations" research sets itself. Those engaged in it prefer to talk of "functional" differences and disagreements between worker and employer, trade union activist and foreman, in so far as "functional" disagreements can be settled within the factory itself and the conflict of basic interest presupposes long uncompromising struggle,[2] which is something most unpalatable for the "human relations" experts. They deny any conflict of interests between labour and capital and reduce the causes of the class struggle to innate aggressiveness, nervous breakdown and the malad-

[1] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, p. 492.

[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 138.

justment of a few men, regarding these causes as neither economic in character nor inevitable.[1] So once again everything is reduced to psychological problems, which, in the experts' opinion, can be solved in the framework of the individual factory irrespective of the socio-economic structure of society. Hence the basis for the conclusion that it is possible to establish the notorious "class peace in industry".

The reason for the "nervous breakdown" giving rise to "aggressiveness" among the workers is sought by the "human relations" experts in "authoritarian methods of management"—in particular in arbitrary behaviour on the part of foremen, who disregard workers' feelings and the special features of the influence of "informal" groups—and also in the fact that the conditions pertaining to contemporary capitalist production depersonalise the labour of the worker and magnify his fear of losing his job.

Another factor presented by the "human relations" researchers as an important cause of conflict is the absence of "communication" between workers and employers, or, to use the sociologists' phrase, the absence of "contact", "communication" between workers and management. With regard to Mayo's views on this question William Whyte notes that "Mayo sees conflict primarily as a breakdown in communication. If a man is unhappy or dissatisfied in his work, it is not that there is a conflict to be resolved so much as a misunderstanding to be cleared up."[2]

The disruption of this "communication" according to the advocates of the "human relations" approach can to a considerable extent be explained by the management's inability to express correctly their thoughts and feelings in such a way as to take into account the feelings and concepts of those whom it is addressing and also by the management's inability to listen to subordinates properly. Equally important in this connection are the incorrect attitudes and opinions held by men who are working side by side, namely the false ideas that employers and workers have about each other. The American psychologist, Stanley Gray, maintains that the main cause of clashes between employers and

[1] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 203.
[2] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 40.

workers should be seen as the false concepts that both sides start out from in their relations with each other.[1] Here as in other statements there is clear evidence of the substitution of psychological relations for socio-economic ones.

Some supporters of the theory of "human relations", while not denying out of hand the influence of certain economic factors on the emergence of "conflicts in industry", skim over them and still explain the workers' struggle as a result of "blind aggressiveness", "the reaction to extreme tension stemming from working and living conditions", "biological peculiarities of the individual" or his "inner psychological conflict".[2] Moreover this "inner psychological conflict" is often presented as the result of a difficult private life, unhappy childhood, etc.[3]

Many "human relations" theorists see the strike struggle of the workers merely as the only easily accessible and accepted form for the expression of their own personal aggressive feelings, as a chance to become involved in exciting, dangerous action, which for the workers is a psychological necessity. Peter Drucker explains strikes by the trade union leaders' desire to "demonstrate their power" to union members and society as a whole. He maintains that in the modern context "the strike becomes a symbolic, almost a ritual, performance". It stages an emotional experience which the union member must have but cannot find in the humdrum routine of an established, successful, "fat union".[4] Similar views are to be found in the majority of works dealing with the subject of "human relations". American sociologists themselves admit that such works are characterised by a "systematic underestimation, and often explicit denial,

[1] S. Gray, *Psychology in Industry*, New York, 1952.

[2] D. Kretch and R. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, New York, 1948, p. 551; S. Chase, *Roads to Agreement*, New York, 1951, pp. 37-38; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, pp. 80-82.

[3] In corroboration of assertions of this kind Mayo, for example, singles out in his book a number of "revolutionary" trade union figures in Australia, who allegedly "regarded the world as a hostile place" because they had "a childhood devoid of normal and happy association in work and play with other children". (E. Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, pp. 26-27.)

[4] P. Drucker, *The New Society*, pp. 118-19.

of economic and political determinants of industrial peace, either within or external to, the factory".[1]

"Human relations" techniques are applied on a wide scale precisely at those periods when, as a result of the mushrooming of state monopolies, the favourite slogan pushed by the American bourgeois propagandists, that of so-called equality of opportunity for personal success, opportunity for men to acquire a business of their own and make money proves less and less acceptable. In actual fact the reverse process is taking place in the United States and the other advanced capitalist countries, small businessmen and small farmers are bankrupt. Wage workers accounted for 81 per cent of the gainfully employed population in 1950, 83.4 per cent in 1960 and by August 1969 as many as 90.5 per cent[2] while the 500 largest industrials in 1960 had over 70 per cent of all profits.[3] All this compels bourgeois authors to acknowledge that workers have no prospects at all for getting on,[4] that the American workers' "stairway to the stars" has ceased to exist.[5] Even popular literature today, according to bourgeois sociologist, Arnold Rose, is less likely than formerly to stress the unlimited opportunity awaiting the ambitious and intelligent young man in the United States.[6]

In order to convince the workers and lower echelons of employees that they can be happy and satisfy their material and spiritual needs if they stay at their job and strictly obey the rules of their industrial corporation, the monopoly bourgeoisie is obliged to turn to new theories. Much is made of the alleged "humanity of modern capitalism", the "community of interests" and the equal responsibility of workers and employers. "Human relations" experts realise it would be naive to hope workers would be inspired by such a goal as increasing the shareholders' profits. So they stress that now a restatement of the aims of business is required "in

[1] H. Sheppard, "Approaches to Conflict in American Industrial Sociology", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 174.

[2] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1968, p. 226; *Employment and Earnings*, September 1969, p. 40.

[3] *Fortune*, July 1961, p. 167.

[4] *Research in Industrial Human Relations*, pp. 3-4.

[5] V. Packard, *The Status Seekers*, New York, 1961, p. 253.

[6] A. Rose, *Sociology. The Study of Human Relations*, New York, 1957, p. 24.

terms of common aims and common benefits, not in terms of individual self-seeking".[1]

The logical result of this approach to the question was a spate of attempts by experts in both the theory and practice of "human relations" to conceal the fact that profit is the main goal and motive force of capitalist production. In their writings the concept "profit" is either not mentioned at all or approached as "the social test of the utility of the enterprise"[2] and of effective organisation, or as one of many goals that business sets itself, not as the only one necessary, in particular, "as an incentive to produce goods or to perform services and as one important guide for measuring the success of a firm"[3] and to ensure that the workers receive their wages and the capital investors their dividends. Despite certain small differences in formulation the main aim of the business conducted by corporations, or "industrial organisations" as they are often now called, can be summed up as follows: the production of goods and the service of the members of society, the promotion of prosperity among blue- and white-collar workers, property-owners and consumers, in relation to whom the business should manifest in an equal degree its "social and moral responsibility" that finds expression in the creation and distribution of "satisfactions among the individual members of the organisation" and also in the guarantee of "healthy working conditions", "fair treatment" and opportunities for personal advancement and promotion and for obtaining satisfaction in the prints of their work.[4] In other words we are confronted by a list of all the attributes of the ideal picture of the "considerate corporation", on which the present concept of "human capitalism" is based.

Advocates of the "human relations" approach are ready to go to any lengths to present themselves as true champions

[1] L. Urwick, "The Purpose of a Business", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 90.

[2] Ibid.

[3] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 38.

[4] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 552; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 61; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, pp. 39, 391; *Behavioral Science Research in Industrial Relations*, New York, 1962, p. 42.

of human dignity and high humane principles, allegedly supporting the workers in their aspirations to creative labour and acknowledging their right to help each other at work and even to rally together to defend their interests. "Discover man again," they proclaim dramatically, "giving him back his self-respect and the respect of those around him".[1] Here bourgeois writers of today try and put modern adherents of the "human relations" theory over as the followers of Robert Owen. They see present-day relations between workers and employers as based on high moral principles and hence making the enterprise "a home for a large family"[2] in which workers, executives and employers work together as equal partners and consequently terms such as "boss", "chief" and "overseer" no longer apply in the context of today.[3] Factory managers are presented as leaders, elder brothers, benevolent fathers and counsellors[4] who see to it that all those working in their factory are contented and happy.

Some sociologists working in the "human relations" field explain the "humanisation" of present-day capitalism as a result of the impact of this doctrine. The American sociologist Keith Davis writes in this connection that it is highly likely that the modern capitalist system is not what it used to be (read "is now humane"—*N.B.*) thanks to the influence of certain "human relations" concepts.[5]

The advocates of the "human relations" approach suggest that contemporary capitalism is humane in character and that business concerns have social responsibilities, however this hypothesis is not borne out by the actual state of affairs in capitalist enterprises. Frank admissions with regard to the true aims of capitalist production can be found in statements made by champions of monopoly capital, who are worried lest all the talk of "social responsibility" and "humane business" should give rise to workers' excessive expectations and demands. A typical example of such assertions

[1] *Readings in Human Relations*, pp. 34-35.
[2] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 157.
[3] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 348.
[4] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 348; R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 157.
[5] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 541.

is one made by Thomas Levitt, according to whom business will have a much better chance of surviving if there is no nonsense about its goals and it drops all kinds of emotional verbiage. He openly acknowledges that "welfare and society are not the corporation's business. Its business is making money, not sweet music".[1] He goes on to point out that most advocates of the social responsibility doctrine admit they are motivated by cold cash.[2] Drucker echoes these thoughts when he writes that "the first concern of the enterprise must be for profitability and productivity, not for the welfare of its members"[3]

Frequent reference is made to the false thesis to the effect that contemporary capitalism is characterised by "humane goals" and "social responsibility" when "human relations" experts propound the idea of "common interests" and the need for close "co-operation" between workers and employers.

The idea of "common interests" shared by workers and employers is not original. Champions of capitalism had long been propagating it. F.W. Taylor in his day had written: "The majority of these men believe that the fundamental interests of employees and employers are necessarily antagonistic. Scientific management on the contrary, has for its very foundation the firm conviction that the true interests of the two are one and the same."[4] Thus both groups should be interested in increasing output which should bring direct advantage to both groups: the bigger the cake, the bigger each man's slice.[5] Mayo and Roethlisberger on several occasions stressed the prime import of fostering "co-operation" in the factory in the name of "common aims".[6] It was pre-

[1] T. Levitt, "The Dangers of Social Responsibility", *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1958, pp. 42, 47, 49.

[2] Quotation from W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management. A Behavioral Science Approach*, Homewood, Illinois, 1962, p. 367.

[3] P. Drucker, *The New Society*, p. 99.

[4] F. W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, New York, 1919, p. 10.

[5] F. W. Taylor, *Scientific Management*, New York, 1947, pp. 29-30.

[6] E. Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 175; F. Roethlisberger, "The Territory and Skill of the Administrator", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 19.

cisely in the fostering of "co-operation" between all men working in industry that Mayo saw the raison d'être of "social skills"[1], i.e., of the practice of "human relations".

The concept of "common interests" shared by employers and workers is regarded as a factor of key importance in the theory of "human relations".[2] Assertions to the effect that employers, executives, blue- and white-collar workers are united by a common interest in the production of commodities and serving society, that they are all dependent on each other and can only attain their goals by means of close co-operation and not through struggle against each other[3] recur again and again in all manner of different guises.

Yet what talk can there possibly be of "common interests", if the fate of the workers is completely dependent on the whims of the capitalists. Karl Marx wrote: "*To say that the interests of capital and those of the workers are one and the same is only to say that capital and wage labour are two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other, just as usurer and squanderer condition each other.*"

"As long as the wage-worker is a wage-worker his lot depends upon capital. That is the "much-vaunted community of interests between worker and capitalist".[4]

However, precisely because bourgeois writers make capital out of the worker's dependence on the employer providing him with work and out of the fact that the employer in his turn depends on labour power for the functioning of his factory, the argument put forward in bourgeois propaganda, including the writings of "human relations" experts concerning the "common interests" for workers and employers appears convincing to inexperienced workers.

Sophisticated tactics of the employers, bourgeois propaganda, social manoeuvring of the bourgeoisie that expresses itself in the making of certain concessions to the workers, and also the policy of "class co-operation" pursued by the majority of the leaders of the American trade union move-

[1] E. Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 13.
[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 14.
[3] Ibid.
[4] K. Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*, Moscow, 1967, p. 32.

ment, obstruct the workers' perception of the essence of capitalist exploitation and the utter incompatibility of the basic interests of labour and capital. In the United States, as a result of a whole number of historical factors, the idea of "class co-operation" has taken firm root among certain sectors of industrial workers. For this reason the Communist Party of the United States evaluates the influence of ideas such as "class co-operation" or "class partnership" as one of the main ideological obstacles on the path to progress for the labour movement in the America of today.

In the interpretation of class relations, in the concepts—the "transformation" of contemporary capitalism and the "common interests" shared by labour and capital—which constitute an integral part of the theoretical foundations of "human relations" doctrine, its biased essence and methodological flaws, namely subjective idealism and eclecticism, come unmistakably to the fore. In addition, other aspects of this doctrine should be noted, such as exaggerated empiricism, the study of phenomena as finished, as static and a rather articulate elitist bias, features which, as noted by the American Marxist scholar, Herbert Aptheker, are characteristic of bourgeois social sciences since the war.[1]

[1] See H. Aptheker, "Recent Ideological Developments in the United States", *World Marxist Review*, 1966, No. 10, p. 14.

CHAPTER II

THE INDOCTRINATION OF WORKERS BY "HUMAN RELATIONS" METHODS

The means of exerting ideological pressure on workers constitute a complex system of interrelated methods which can be summed up under the following headings:

the establishment of communication between workers and employers;

the exertion of ideological pressures on workers through technical supervisors and in particular through junior supervisors such as foremen, charge-hands, etc.;

the utilisation of "informal" and other "small groups" in factories and also so-called "workers' participation";

the implementation of social and cultural schemes. This classification is only a rough guide since frequently one of these elements is incorporated in a number of different methods and it is difficult to keep them separate. However, it does include the basic trends discernible in the practical application of "human relations" theory.

1. COMMUNICATION

Communication which fulfils an important function in the indoctrination of workers, is classified by bourgeois sociologists into two groups: downward communication, i.e., from the employers to the workers and, conversely, upward communication, i.e., from the workers to the employers.

The monopolies use various methods to disseminate "information from above". The most "concentrated" of these are numerous declarations of corporate policy. These are often supplemented by special statements expounding the "prin-

ciples for relations with company staff". A typical example of this kind of document is provided by a statement issued by the Esso Standard Oil Company's Board of Directors in the form of a pamphlet entitled "The Way We Work Together." The text is as follows: "To Develop Better Human Relations we believe in these principles.

"*Importance of the Individual.* We believe the actions of business should recognise human feelings and the importance of the individual, and should insure each person's treatment as an individual.

"*Mutual Acceptance.* We believe that Employees, their unions, and management need to accept each other as individuals and as groups and need to respect each other's functions and responsibilities.

"*Common Interest.* We believe that Employees, their unions, and management are bound together by a common interest—the ability of their unit to operate successfully—and that opportunity and security for the individual depend upon this success.

"*Open Communication.* We believe that the sharing of ideas, information and feelings is essential as a means of expression and as the route to better understanding and sounder decisions.

"*Employee Participation.* We believe that better results come about through seeking a balance of viewpoints and through mutual sharing and solving of problems by the people affected.

"*Local Identity.* We believe that the individual receives the greatest opportunities for recognition, pride, and job satisfactions through close identification with his local work unit.

"*Local Decisions.* We believe that people closest to problems affecting themselves develop the most satisfactory solutions when given the authority to solve such matters at the point where they arise.

"*High Moral Standards.* We believe that the soundest basis for judging the 'rightness' of an action involving people is the test of its morality and its effect on basic human rights."[1]

[1] See K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work,* pp. 64-65.

The basic theoretical tenets of "human relations" theory are aptly summed up in these principles for action. They reflect the importance of due consideration for psychological factors ("respect for human feelings", the approach to the worker as an individual, pride in work being carried out), the attempt to present relations between management and employees as strictly personal relations between separate individuals allotted various functions, and relations between management and the unions as relations between groups which enjoy equal rights and differ only in their functions whose nature is deliberately not disclosed. Special emphasis is laid on "common interest" which is also referred to indirectly in the sections "Local Identity", "Mutual Acceptance" and "Open Communication". The section "Employee Participation" includes ideas on group dynamics. The pamphlet as a whole aims at providing a "model" of "humane attitudes" on the part of an employer.

The ideas outlined in statements of policy put out by industrial monopolies are brought home with the help of aptly chosen examples and are persistently and systematically instilled into the corporations' blue- and white-collar workers through all manner of free publications. The workers are inundated by an endless flow of factory newssheets, brochures, information bulletins, posters, pamphlets, circulars from employers and also special radio and television programmes and films.

An important role in this ideological work is assigned to factory publicity. Large industrial companies in the advanced capitalist countries as a rule print special newssheets and magazines for their employees. Newspapers of this kind come out once or twice a week and are intended for specific factories of the corporation concerned. The magazines are published by the company management. They come out once a month, or once a quarter, and provide a connecting link, as it were, between the employees in all factories of a given company. In the mid-fifties over 6,500 factory newspapers were being printed in the USA with a circulation of 70 million, the equivalent figures for Western Europe being 2,500 newspapers and six million copies.[1] By the mid-sixties over

[1] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 128, 129.

10,000 corporate house organs[1] were coming out in the United States and the circulations of such journals printed by American corporations came to 150 million.[2] In West Germany at that time 500 such journals were being printed and had a circulation of 5 million. The volume of such publicity grows in proportion to the increasing numbers of both blue- and white-collar workers employed by industrial corporations.

The content of such publications is geared to the monopolies' objectives. Representatives from General Mills Inc. sum up these objectives as follows: to demonstrate to every worker that he is a needed and respected member of the company and that the company is a good place to work in; to make each worker loyal to his company and ready to "advertise" its advantages; to strengthen faith in the American system of free enterprise.[3] All published material has a common aim, to promote the interests of the corporation and the class interests of monopoly capital in general by all possible means. Even the bourgeois American sociologist, Chris Argyris, was compelled to admit, after analysing the content of the factory newspapers and magazines put out by fifty of the largest US corporations, that "82 per cent of the information has more to do with the anxieties and worries of management than with the employees' problems".[4] F. Goossens, author of a West German handbook for personnel managers in industrial companies stresses that, in so far as factory publicity is "the tool for implementing the employer's policy" editors should be instructed strictly to toe the "employers' line".[5]

West German author, Friedrich Mörtzsch, after making a study of the factory press in the USA, found ample grounds for comparing the publications put out by US corporations with military publications, both as far as their essential nature and aims are concerned. "Factory newssheets strive to foster among the workers loyalty to their

[1] *Business Week*, December 4, 1965, p. 152.
[2] See *Kommunist*, Moscow, 1970, No. 13, p. 110.
[3] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 130.
[4] Ch. Argyris, "The Individual and Organization Structure", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 65.
[5] F. Goossens, *Personalleiter Handbuch*, S. 746.

factory. It is precisely for this, among other reasons, that they resemble so strikingly the soldiers' newspaper ... both go out of their way to bring their readership information and entertainment putting over at the same time the views of those who finance such papers, be it the corporation management or the Ministry of Defence".[1]

The publication of these papers requires considerable allocations from monopoly funds. The West German branch of Ford for example which employs close on 40,000 men spends over 230,000 marks on this every year.[2] According to *Business Week* every copy of the house journals put out by American corporations for their staff costs most companies between 75 cents and $1.5.[3] The fact that the monopolies not only make these allocations but consider them "money well spent"[4] shows that the giants of monopoly capital attribute great importance to company publications.

One of the most widespread means of channelling information to workers on the shop floor in capitalist factories is the handbook or manual that is handed to each worker when he starts work. These are usually well-printed and illustrated handbooks of not more than 50-100 pages containing basic information on the enterprise in question: the production and organisational structure, the goods produced, technological processes, rules and regulations, the workers' rights and obligations, the social and cultural bodies. In addition the brochures provide a summary of the factory's history, starry-eyed biographies of the company owners and top executives, and outline the opportunities for advancement which will allegedly open up before every worker and the company's "noble aims".

The handbook of this type issued by the Krupp empire quotes a saying of Alfred Krupp: "The aim of our work must be the prosperity of all." It goes on to list the aims of the concern: to produce useful commodities of guaranteed quality at reasonable prices, ensure that all employees have work, a regular living and decent working conditions of a

[1] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 138.
[2] *Ford-Nachrichten Werkzeitschrift der Ford-Werke AG*, N. 8/9, 1966, p. 24.
[3] *Business Week*, December 4, 1965, p. 154.
[4] Ibid., p. 152.

kind designed to foster a sense of security, contentment and confidence among employees.[1] An attempt is also made to convince employees that their future and that of the employers are linked together, that they share common interests, equal rights and equal responsibility. Another company's booklet welcomes new employees in the following terms: "When you came to work at Tektronix, we hired you, and in a sense, you hired us. You hired us to provide the work, and we hired you to do it. So there is a joint responsibility in seeing that we both receive the proper satisfaction and happiness in fulfilling our obligations."[2] A handbook put out by another American firm, Fairchild Publications, concludes with a reminder to the effect that the firm's future and the employees' future is in the latter's hands.

Publications of this sort are designed on the one hand to convey to the worker basic information about the factory and, on the other, to instil into him from the very outset the idea that it is in his own interest to ensure that the factory flourishes, or to use the phrase commonly cited in this connection, that "what is best for the company is best for each individual on a long-term basis".[3]

Corporations also publish a large number of publicity brochures. These are usually concerned either with specific aspects of the company's activity or touch on matters of economic or political interest.

One of the largest steel companies, United States Steel Corporation published in the fifties with a circulation of a hundred thousand a brochure consisting of the text of a speech made by Benjamin Fairless, then president of the board.

In his speech entitled "Nobody Wins a Strike" there is a whole chain of "home truths" of the kind propagated by "human relations" experts. The "old" type of capitalist is contrasted with a "new" one. It is pointed out that the workers' grim position in the past can be put down entirely to the low level of technical development which had made it impossible to produce adequate quantities of commodities. Fairless maintains that technological progress brought

[1] *Krupp und Wir. Ein Wegweiser für neue Mitarbeiter*, S. 39.
[2] *You and Tektronix*, p. 6.
[3] Ibid., p. 79.

prosperity to the workers of America but it had required such tremendous outlays for equipment that isolated individuals or families had no longer been in a position to finance large modern enterprises. As a result of all this large limited companies had appeared in industry, which sometimes have more shareholders than workers. Because of their enormous numbers shareholders are not in a position to run an enterprise which means that they have no other course open to them but to employ professional executives who "serve the interests not of the shareholders alone". From there Fairless goes on to declare that he for one has 700,000 bosses, 285,000 of them are United States Steel Corporation shareholders who can replace or fire him. Then come 100,000 customers, whose wishes the company has to satisfy, otherwise it would cease to function. Finally he mentions the company's 300,000 odd employees whose interests also have to be taken into consideration. Fairless then proceeds by traditional means to attempt to demonstrate the interdependence of shareholders, consumers and workers and the mutual advantage to be gained from their "close co-operation". In order to make sure that all partners are satisfied Fairless considers that they should show their "willingness to co-operate". This in his eyes applies above all to relations between the management and the workers. Fairless depicts the "concern" the company shows for the workers and goes out of his way to demonstrate how wrong is the commonly accepted idea that company management and employees are inevitably, eternally at loggerheads. Indeed he exclaims that in reality an executive is really just another company employee. The executive and the worker merely fulfil different tasks in the work that serves the common good.

It is important not to lose sight of the feature which distinguishes corporation publications from propaganda disseminated by the ordinary channels of press, radio and television: it is intended for a specific group of employees in a given corporation. Indoctrination is conducted with due consideration of the specific conditions in which employees live and work and of aspects of their daily work routine. This makes company publicity more effective. Indeed the fact that it is put out in enormous editions and reinforced by

other mass media—"a gigantic apparatus of falsehood and deception to hoodwink the masses of workers"[1]—means that it is one of the most important channels for the influence of the bourgeoisie on the working class.

Radio and television also play an important part in the deliberate dulling of workers' minds. The biggest US corporations have radio stations of their own that transmit programmes outside working hours. The United States Steel Corporation transmits a television programme entitled "United States Steel Hour" and General Motors has its own television centre. When 150,000 of General Electric workers were on strike at the beginning of 1970, the corporation made use of all possible means for influencing the workers: press, radio, television, "individual" letters to the strikers and their families and even telephone calls to their homes.[2]

Methods used for "downward communication" are closely linked up with those used for "upward communication". The corporations resort to a variety of methods in order to assess workers' moods and pick out "unreliable" employees: they take into account workers' speeches at rallies, workers' letters to their employers and unofficial meetings between senior company executives and workers are encouraged, complaints are collected and mass surveys are conducted. These new "human relations" methods supplement traditional devices such as tailing and spying which have gone on at capitalist enterprises since time immemorial.

Some of the more widespread methods in schemes designed to facilitate "upward communication" are surveys, tests and exams to which blue- and white-collar workers are subjected before being taken on and at various intervals subsequently. During the thirties these methods were used primarily for assessing employees' professional skills and aptitudes and then, after World War II, they were also used for assessing employees' personalities. These tests, as the bourgeois sociologists themselves acknowledge, proved especially dangerous to organised labour in so far as they were designed to assess workers' "loyalty" to the corporation, "aggressiveness", "degree of radicalism", their capacity for "social

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 267.
[2] See *Kommunist*, Moscow, 1970, No. 13, p. 110.

judgement" of events and their "degree of hostility to society".[1]

During World War II the well-known American aircraft company, Lockheed Aircraft, started conducting surveys of this kind in order to single out potential trouble-makers among job applicants. Later the corporations started using these methods in relation to all blue- and white-collar workers in order "to eliminate political liberals and radicals from the labor force".[2] One of Detroit's industrial companies screened all its employees using 40 different personality tests ranging from the ability to remember names to political views.[3]

In 1952 one-third of US corporations used personality tests[4] and ever since the practice has been becoming increasingly widespread. According to a report of 852 companies, made by the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Texas in the sixties, 80 per cent of these companies were using tests of some sort on job applicants.[5]

Checks on employees' reliability from the point of view of their employers are especially thorough in Japanese corporations. Before taking on new employees, large companies often insist that they attend special four-week assessment courses designed to bring out in the job applicant those qualities most valued by the employer (or alternatively their absence), in particular the capacity to subordinate his own interests to those of the company. During the course each applicant's "reliability" is tested not only by members of the company staff, but also by priests and representatives of the military. Only those applicants are taken on who succeed in demonstrating that they will faithfully serve the interests of the company.

The monopolies regularly conduct mass surveys among blue- and white-collar workers to "gauge the temperature" of workers' morale. Whereas in 1944 these surveys were used in only 50 companies, by now they have become a

[1] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 181; R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 162.
[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 159.
[3] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 204-05.
[4] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 192.
[5] V. Packard, *The Pyramid Climbers*, New York, 1962, p. 45.

familiar feature of American industrial life and are widely used in the vast majority of companies as a means of improving "human relations". These surveys are now highly refined: many American universities play an important part in developing these techniques. Harvard, Cornell and the universities of Chicago and Michigan are particularly prominent in this field. In 1951 a special department was set up at the University of Chicago to carry out what is so far the most extensive research programme of this type in the United States.

Methods used for conducting these mass surveys in industrial enterprises vary considerably. Sometimes competitions are arranged for the best account or letter to the corporation management on a subject connected with work. One of the first programmes encouraging workers' letters to their employers was organised in 1947 by General Motors in the form of an essay competition on the subject "My Job and Why I Like It". This competition in which 175,000 people took part was designed, on the one hand, to bring out the positive aspects of work at General Motors, and, on the other, to provide material for an analysis of workers' morale.

The most widespread method used for conducting mass surveys is the questionnaire. It confronts the workers with questions on their attitudes to their work, to their company and they are at liberty to fill out questionnaire forms without adding their names. They are given on an average between 30 minutes and an hour of working time to complete them. The answers are analysed in detail by professional sociologists who assess the workers' morale and make appropriate recommendations to the company management. Regular surveys of this type give monopoly executives the chance to single out the "sources of radicalism" in their factories and take concrete steps to eliminate them and "improve workers' morale". In order to facilitate the indoctrination of the workers reports on the surveys' findings are often biased.[1] Compilers of such reports count on the "positive influence on workers of concrete statistics showing

[1] L. Baritz quotes an example of one of the first mass surveys of this kind that was conducted at the Thompson Products aircraft factory

that the absolute majority of them are content with their wages, their work and have a high opinion of the management".

The effect of these mass surveys on workers is often compared to a safety valve, since they provide a harmless outlet for the discontent workers have been repressing, and moreover they can create the impression that the management is interested in workers' opinions and takes note of them. According to "human relations" theory all this should help to boost workers' morale and make them favourably disposed to the company management. Although the cost of such surveys is considerable (they cost corporations between 3 and 30 dollars per worker involved[1]) nevertheless the corporations continue to go in for them in a big way. The pollsters see them as a practice which could not only assess but also increase the commitment of workers to capitalism[2] and help avert strikes.

Mass surveys at factories are often supplemented by interviews with individual workers conducted by professional psychologists and counsellors who have recourse to traditional methods used in the catholic confessional and the psychiatric clinic. These interviews conducted in a deliberately informal atmosphere, often in small recreation rooms near the workshop, are designed to encourage the worker to be frank in giving voice to his feelings, moods, worries and fears. Interviews of this sort provide an important source of information for the management on

employing 16,000 people. The questionnaire forms were distributed among the workers in September 1943 and in February 1944 the company newspaper *Friendly Forum* published a short report on the survey's findings which pointed out that the vast majority of the firm's employees liked their jobs and were content with their wages and the way they were supervised, etc. In August 1944 the corporation published a still more elaborate report in the form of an attractive 70-page booklet which drew the same conclusions. It told the workers among other things that only 4 per cent of their colleagues were dissatisfied with their jobs. (L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, pp. 151-53). The booklet did not point out what per cent of the workers filled in the questionnaire forms and this was an extremely important point, since, in many cases when such questionnaires are sent round to the workers' homes, they are only returned by 20 per cent of the workers (G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 127).

[1] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 86.

[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 154.

workers' morale, and also make it possible to convey a certain amount of information on economic and political matters "from above" to the workers, as B. Gardner, the sociologist in charge of "the personnel counselling" programme for the Hawthorne experiment, pointed out.[1] Counselling of this sort is designed to reduce tension in relations between workers, on the one hand, and the owners and management, on the other.

The "counselling" method like all other practices employed by "human relations" experts presupposes that the capitalist mode of production is unshakeable, that the workers' complaints and discontent stem from purely subjective causes which the worker must be helped to understand. William Whyte admits that the counselling of workers does not make allowances for any change in the workers' position. Those who uphold this method, he reminds us, consider that "if a worker is sore at his foreman the chances are good that he is not really sore at the foreman because of some rational gripe but is merely venting on the foreman certain repressed feelings. By listening patiently like a psychiatrist, the counsellor helps such persons understand that what they are really sore about flows from inner, subjective conflict."[2] A counsellor does not give the worker concrete advice but he "explains company policy" and steers the conversation in such a way so as to make the worker feel that he himself reached the conclusion that not the company, let alone the capitalist system, is to blame for his discontent but he himself, his personal qualities and psychological problems, his inability to adapt to existing conditions which are reasonable and correct. This type of counselling according to the "human relations" experts, must "help the employee accept necessary inconveniences and frustrations on the job"[3] in order "to achieve an adequate adjustment".[4]

A paper drawn up by a representative of the Standard

[1] Quotation from *Human Relations in Industry*, Munich, p. 68.

[2] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 41.

[3] Ross Stagner, "Some Problems in Contemporary Industrial Psychology", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 425.

[4] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 602.

Oil Company summed up the aims behind this type of counselling as follows: to help workers analyse their psychological problems, to give them a chance to voice their discontent which otherwise might have dangerous results for the company, to boost workers' morale. One of the active supporters of this method in the above-mentioned company referred to such counselling as "a safety valve for the angry, a stimulant for the bored, an escape for the frustrated, a refuge for the fearful".[1] The French sociologist, Georges Friedmann, after studying this system of individual counselling in American enterprises, described it as "one of the most refined and subtle means the employer has at his disposal for reducing internal tension within sizeable production groups".[2]

The interviewing of individual workers by psychologists-counsellors became a particularly widespread practice in the United States during World II and also during the late forties and early fifties. However, many researchers point out that this method is resorted to less frequently than other techniques employed by "human relations" experts.[3] Companies started gradually cutting down on this counselling or putting a stop to it altogether. Even the initiator of this method, Western Electric at Hawthorne, put the entire counselling programme under review during the late fifties (for reasons not disclosed) with an eye to its possible discontinuance.[4]

At the present time a small number of companies (mostly very large ones) maintain full-time trained counsellors on their staff.[5] "Counselling" is a very costly undertaking: for example in a single year, 1949, including the pay for time lost by the workers who were being counselled, a programme

[1] Quotation from L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 164.

[2] G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, Paris, 1962, pp. 158-59.

[3] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 41; E. J. Herzberger, "Basic Needs and Statistics of the Individual", *Behavioral Science Research in Industrial Relations*, p. 23; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 386; D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 481; *The Emerging Environment of Industrial Relations*, p. 72.

[4] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 106.

[5] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 481.

of this sort cost Western Electric $326,000.[1] A number of bourgeois authors openly link employers' decisions to discontinue counselling programmes with the fact that they cost so much.[2]

Rumours also play an important part in communication. There was a time when the management used to ignore the rumours that circulated in their factories, regarding them as just so many "weeds". Now, however, "human relations" experts try to turn this weed into a desirable fruit (i.e., grape-vine). Rumours are regarded as an important source of information on workers' morale and activities. They are analysed in detail and employers take them into account when making related decisions. Particular importance is attributed to rumours during strikes. In one particular book on "human relations"[3] the example is cited of an executive in charge of the "industrial relations department", who, during a strike, paid careful attention to rumours circulating among workers concerning what they thought the managers were going to do. He knew these were rumours since the management had not yet decided what it ought to do: nevertheless he went on listening to the rumours since they gave him an idea of workers' moods, of how far they would press their demands and of their determination to hold out for them.

Employers and the management also use rumours as a means of "downward communication". "Human relations" experts see rumours as an inevitable phenomenon in any production team. They recommend that managers should listen to rumours carefully in order to keep them under control and see to it that they contain information of the desired land.[4] So nowadays it is with the help of the most up-to-date sociological research methods that the sources, channels and mechanics of the spread of rumours are investigated. As soon as it emerges that a particular person in a factory sparks off rumours, the management deliberate-

[1] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 106.
[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 481; R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 158.
[3] K. Davis, "Making Constructive Use of the Office Grapevine", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 355.
[4] Ibid.

ly "feeds" him facts and information, the dissemination of which will serve to promote the management's interests. This practice is particularly common during periods when collective agreements are being negotiated and when strikes are on, in order to misinform the workers and sow discord among their ranks.

By seeing to it that "the right kind of rumours" are spread, employers and the management take vital steps towards counteracting rumours detrimental to their own interests. "Company policy should make it clear, however, that employees are not to spread so-called 'subversive' rumors—those which tend seriously to reduce morale, destroy teamwork, decrease productivity. . . ."[1] The spreading of such rumours is held in check by strict administrative measures and also through various statements issued by employers and management spokesmen in open letters, house newssheets and face-to-face meetings with the workers. To make these more effective direct refutations of rumours are discouraged and instead efforts are made to present the workers, in the form of news, information designed to demonstrate that these rumours, detrimental to the employers' interests, are "ill-founded".

The smooth functioning of a communication system is regarded as one of the main objectives of any management. In 1951 *Fortune* magazine reported, "Control communication and you control".[2] Breakdown of communications is seen as one of the frequent causes of inroads by labour agitators in industry.[3] General Electric, for example, maintained that its failure to communicate to its employees and to those living in communities where it had plants was a fundamental reason for the strike debacle of 1946.[4] The management of this corporation launched an enormous project for setting up a diversified system of communication which required a great deal of time, energy and talent.[5]

[1] K. Davis, op. cit., pp. 354-55.
[2] Quotation from L. Baritz, *Servants of Power. . .*, p. 190.
[3] E. Roscoe, *Organization for Production*, p. 302.
[4] H. Northrup, "The Case for Boulwarism", *Harvard Business Review*, 1963, No. 5, p. 88.
[5] Ibid., p. 89.

2. THE ROLE OF TECHNICAL SUPERVISORS IN THE INDOCTRINATION OF EMPLOYEES BY MEANS OF "HUMAN RELATIONS" METHODS

According to "human relations" theory all technical supervisors in a corporation from the bottom upwards should be acquainted with and make wide use of "human relations" methods. Particular importance is attached to the mastering of "human relations" skills by foremen and team leaders, i.e., by junior supervisors who theoretically should represent "key figures" extremely influential in shaping the required attitudes to the company among the labour force. Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger in their day also turned their attention to the importance of foremen in fostering "human relations" in industry. However this question was dealt with in detail by their followers soon after World War II.

The "key position" of the foreman in bringing ideological influence to bear on workers is explained in works on "human relations" first and foremost by the fact that foremen come into personal contact with their subordinates every day. It is precisely such personal contact, according to the "human relations" experts, which exerts the most effective influence on men's behaviour, influence that is more effective than any printed matter, films and other publicity material. Furthermore it is the foreman who in the eyes of the workers often personifies the company. For in the context of modern large-scale capitalist production the workers have hardly any opportunity of observing the activities of other representatives of the management or of their employers. This means that the worker bases many of his conclusions concerning the company and its management on the behaviour of his foreman.

For this reason it is becoming more and more frequent for foremen to be called upon, alongside their other duties, to ensure good relations with their workers, foster their "loyalty" to the company, make it clear that the company workers' interests are identical with those of society as a whole, in other words to do all within their power to adapt workers to the requirements of capitalist production. According to an executive from an American motor company "human relations" take up 90 per cent of assembly-line

foremen's working time, while only a mere 10 per cent is devoted to technical matters: the executive considered that this state of affairs was in the company's interests.[1]

To ensure that foremen carry out their ideological functions successfully, they are obliged to have a close knowledge of their workers' personal qualities—their tastes, interests, weak and strong points, find out what they enjoy and take pride in and how they react to various phenomena. Some companies insist that foremen devote at least fifteen minutes a week to conversation with each of their subordinates asking them about their lives at home and the way they spend their leisure hours.

Textbooks dealing with the practical side of "human relations" and various manuals for managers urge their readers to pursue what is referred to as an "open-doors" policy that finds expression in their readiness to see employees to discuss any issue that may be worrying them. This policy is advocated universally. Directors and other senior executives are advised to show their faces in workshops, attend sports competitions, and take part in excursions and other functions arranged for employees so as to come into closer contact with them and be able to talk to them.

Conversations of this kind on the one hand enable the company to learn about the workers' feelings and attitudes and influence these, they also allow them to create the impression of "sincere consideration and concern for the worker". In this connection "human relations" experts base their ideas on the assertion that the most important factor shaping man's behaviour is not reality but subjective favourable impressions and the worker's good mood. Many purely external devices are used to alter the workers' negative conception of the "boss" and replace it with a positive one. Foremen, executives and employers are advised not to irritate the workers when they come face to face with them by wearing expensive clothes and comporting themselves in an arrogant way, but to don clothes that closely resemble those the workers wear and to adopt their expressions and straightforward speech habits: to avoid shouting and be polite, smile, and make every effort to address the

[1] Quotation from K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 126.

workers by name, etc. Another talent much prized is the ability to be an understanding listener when engaging employees in conversation and talk in the language used by the workers. This, according to the "human relations" experts, should guarantee success in fostering "mutual understanding" between company executives and their employees. In publicity leaflets specially aimed at workers it is stressed again and again that the atmosphere in the given factory is an "informal" one, written texts and photographs illustrate the "friendly contact" between company owners and top executives on the one hand and workers from the shopfloor on the other.

In order to consolidate their power employers are prepared to demand from their technical supervisors that the latter renounce some of the purely external attributes of their privileged position, or, as the "human relations" writers term them, the "symbols of their higher status". The outward trappings of "democracy" and "benevolence" impress the less aware elements among the workers and make it harder for them to appreciate that the basis for relations between capitalists and executives on the one hand and workers on the other is exploitation.

However it should be borne in mind that while creating the outward illusion of friendly relations between workers and executives, factory management at the same time preserves rigid bureaucratic hierarchy and discipline and bourgeois patterns in production. In publications put out by American business circles statements are often to be found to the effect that the management cannot afford the luxury of being "democratic" or practising "human relations" at the cost of order and discipline.[1] The American sociologist, Douglas McGregor, cites Theodore Roosevelt's words, used once by the latter to define US policy in relation to the Latin American countries, to describe this policy: "Speak softly and carry a big stick."[2]

"Human relations" experts maintain that technical supervisors in order to come to grips with their new duties need

[1] *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1963, p. 139.

[2] Quotation from D. McGregor. "The Human Side of Enterprise", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 51.

to have an elementary knowledge of psychology and be able to play the "father confessor".[1] This explains why US companies have spent a good deal on organising mass instruction for technical supervisors in "human relations". Many corporations regard this as essential for any supervisor to be able to perform his duties successfully. During World War II over two million supervisors from 16,000 plants[2] received such instruction. During the fifties a large number of varied courses for training in "human relations" techniques were held. W. Scott refers to this period as the "golden years" of universal enthusiasm for such training programmes.[3]

In the years that followed certain changes in training methods were to be observed, but the scale of the programmes was not cut down. Technical supervisors were trained in the art of "human relations" skills mostly at special courses and seminars organised by universities, management associations or within the corporations themselves by permanent personnel in "industrial relations departments" or by university lecturers, psychologists and sociologists specially invited along for this purpose. In American industry over 600 million dollars is spent each year on management development. In West Germany it costs any company between 12,000 and 18,000 marks (3-5 thousand dollars) to send one representative to a ten-month management development course. A considerable part of this money is spent on training such men in "human relations" skills. In the United States 50 per cent of such training programmes consist of subjects connected with the theory and practice of "human relations", while the equivalent figure in West Germany is around 16 per cent.[4]

The programmes vary but are aimed basically at demonstrating to technical supervisors that for the successful running of the company it is extremely important to foster "human relations", and at giving them an idea of the basic aspects of this theory and its practical application. William

[1] H. Levinson, "A National Perspective on Industrial Human Relations", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 437.
[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 143.
[3] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management*, p. 400.
[4] *Die Welt*, January 15, 1970.

Scott regards as typical a ten-day programme for foremen and middle management allowing for a daily 90 minutes, tuition embracing the following topics: the place and significance of "human relations", communication, the importance of status symbols as associated with functions and rank in business, formal and informal organisations, balance of employees' interests and the achievement of the company's goals, the adaptation of employees to technological and other changes taking place in the firm.[1] Considerable attention is paid to instruction in "effective persuasion" and the ability to "talk persuasively", "chair a meeting effectively" and "put ideas across", etc.

Questions of "human relations" also occupy a prominent place in university curricula in departments that train future industrial executives. In the United States there are over thirty universities and colleges with industrial relations departments which provide, mainly for engineers in their third and fourth year, the opportunity to study such subjects as psychology, industrial sociology, production management, economics and commerce and the trade union movement.[2] No less attention is devoted to such subjects in the training schools set up by some corporations for the specialised instruction of their own personnel.

The methods of instruction cover a wide range: lectures, films, group discussion, electronic teaching aids, so-called active participation methods, the most common of which is role-playing. This involves the improvised acting out by trainees of a given conflict situation in relations between a supervisor and subordinate. Trainees take turns in acting the part of worker and supervisor. Then the trainees analyse and criticise the behaviour of the parties and under the guidance of experienced psychologists search out means of bringing round the subordinate to thought and behaviour patterns that accomodate the company ownership.

The case method devised by Harvard Business School is directed to the same ends. Under the guidance of a teacher a group of trainees analyse an actual or an imaginary

[1] W. H. Scott, "Training Middle Management in Human Relations", *Readings in Human Relations*, pp. 311-14.

[2] "Die Menschlichen Beziehungen", *Human Relations in Industry*, p. 88.

conflict situation. This provides experience in the solution of "personality clashes". "Human relations" manuals and textbooks contain a collection of such situations compiled by a large number of experts. The corporations spare no expense in this field. The selection and description of one such case costs them 500 dollars.[1]

A comparatively new method for the active instruction of senior managers and executives is the sensitivity training method elaborated by the National Training Laboratory in Group Development and the Human Relations Research Centre at UCLA. This method involves a variation of group psychoanalysis in which between seven and ten people take part. While engaging in "non-directive" discussion of various questions participants are expected at the same time to conduct a detailed and frank analysis of their own behaviour and that of their fellow trainees. The purpose of such sessions is to facilitate each participant's understanding of his own motivation and other people's, his understanding of the role of feelings and various emotions and the processes at work in group behaviour, so as more effectively to be able to control his own behaviour and direct that of others. Courses in "sensitivity training" are designed to last 1-2 weeks and are usually held in quiet premises out of town. Training of this type for one executive costs the largest companies approximately 750 dollars.[2]

"Human relations" experts consider that in order to achieve the best results from tuition of technical supervisors in the methods which this approach to industrial organisation involves, it is essential that not only senior executives but also middle management and junior supervisors be provided with appropriate instruction. If these training programmes are only laid on for the lowest rank of management personnel, while the senior personnel continues to work according to old "authoritarian" methods, all such training is to no purpose. Experts in the theoretical and practical aspects of "human relations" evolve different combinations of various methods of instruction and are

[1] See Z. Izdebsky, J. Tudrej, *Training of Management Personnel in Industry in the Capitalist Countries*, Moscow, Russ. ed., 1966, p. 51.
[2] V. Packard, *The Pyramid Climbers*, p. 294.

constantly endeavouring to find new, more sophisticated (from their point of view) methods for instructing foremen and technical supervisors at all levels so that they should be able to influence more effectively the behaviour of their subordinates in the required way.

3. THE USE OF "SMALL GROUPS" AND "WORKERS' PARTICIPATION"; WELFARE AND CULTURAL SCHEMES IN THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF "HUMAN RELATIONS" THEORY

Those who elaborate methods for the practical application of "human relations" theory devote considerable attention to the behaviour of workers in production teams and the emergence of "small groups" within these teams, in particular that of "informal" groups.

"Human relations" researchers warn managers that it is impossible to do away with "informal" groups and that any attempt to break them up excites workers' open hostility.[1] In the light of this technical supervisors are advised to learn how such "informal" groups function in order to be able to co-operate with them. The well-known American sociologist Robert Dubin asserts that "the informal group can also co-operate directly and indirectly with management of the formal organisation. When direct co-operation occurs, the informal group works to meet or even exceed management expectations".[2] In keeping with the advice which they receive from sociologists the owners and executives of capitalist enterprises try to further their own interests by bringing influence to bear on these "informal" groups so that the latter exert control over the behaviour of the workers and ensure that they comply with their own specific norms of conduct: this control is effected through group derision, ostracism of unsuitable members from the group, ridicule and other forms of unofficial censure for

[1] F. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk", *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1965, p. 32.

[2] R. Dubin, *Human Relations in Administration with Readings and Cases*, Englewood Cliffs, New York, 1961, p. 85.

actions that run counter to established norms of conduct. Company owners also try to exploit to their own ends yet another function of "informal" groups, namely the spreading of rumours so as to channel them in directions favourable to their own interests. They acknowledge that as a vehicle of communication and gossip, the "informal" group is without rival.[1]

A good deal of attention is also paid to the unofficial leaders of these "informal" groups, whose influence within the groups is considerable. Keith Davis points out that if their attitude to the management is negative this will influence the attitudes of all other members in the group and a situation will then arise where one bad egg will spoil the whole cake.[2] In "human relations" manuals it is stressed again and again how important it is for managerial staff to know, who among their subordinates are the unofficial leaders of these "informal" groups, and to work with them in such a way as to ensure that their influence will promote the company's interests, not obstruct them.[3] The management employs a variety of methods including subtle forms of bribery for bringing such employees over to their side and using them to foster among the workers attitudes in keeping with the company's interests. All this is done in a delicate and discreet manner behind the workers' backs so as not to compromise these unofficial leaders' positions.[4]

Employers also take into consideration other types of unofficial groups existing in the industrial world: groups based on shared professions, and such factors as age, sex, length of service, nationality, race. Sociologists and psychologists make a detailed study of the interests of these "small groups", and the conflicting interests between such groups, in order to smooth over any contention within the industrial context. At the same time employers exploit these differences in order to undermine workers' solidarity, sustain the rivalry between them which Engels in his day singled out as the sharpest weapon against the proletariat in the hands of the

[1] *Advanced Management Journal*, May 1959, p. 27.
[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 238.
[3] Ibid., p. 237.
[4] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, pp. 424-25.

bourgeoisie.[1] William Whyte cites one American company which deliberately employed workers of different racial extraction in order to undermine the solidarity of its labour force.[2]

"Human relations" experts urge managerial staff to take close account of the external attributes of "social status", since any abolition of them may give rise to discontent among the workers. At the same time, just as company owners themselves hope, skilful manipulating with these symbols can increase workers' "loyalty". In the light of this fact "symbolic rewards" are made wide use of, such as celebrations in the honour of veteran employees, and public commendations and presentations of special badges and bonuses, congratulatory letters from the company owners to their staff at holiday times, etc. Incentives such as these in the capitalist world represent nothing but various forms of moral bribery, which cost those who go in for them relatively little. The American sociologist Robert Dubin reminds us that "status pay is the 'cheapest' form of payoff for the organisation. It involves only some kind of public recognition by a member of management of a person's particular merits."[3]

In keeping with "human relations" theory employers should not only bend to their own ends the existence of the "small" groups that take shape spontaneously in the industrial context but also go out of their way themselves to encourage the formation of various types of small workers' groups. A good deal of wide-scale effort is devoted to this end in industry, and outside it as well, in order to "fragmentize the labour force and make managerial control of it easier" as Lewis Corey, the American professor of political economy, writes.[4] From among the members of these small production groups set up by the employers themselves representatives are picked out to discuss with the management various matters connected with work in the

[1] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, 1953, p. 110.

[2] See *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodniye otnosheniya* (World Economics and International Relations), 1966, No. 4, p. 67.

[3] R. Dubin, *The World of Work*, Englewood Cliffs, New York, 1958, p. 245.

[4] Quotation from L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, pp. 187-88.

factory in question. It is indeed this that goes by the name of "workers' participation" planned to exemplify "industrial democracy" or "democratic management" and representing one form of "class collaboration".

Writings on "human relations" make a point of the fact that the vital prerequisite of this "participation" is the mental and emotional involvement of workers in a group situation that encourages him to contribute to group goals (i.e., those of the capitalist enterprise) and share responsibility. An employer naturally has no wish to see workers interfering in deliberation of important questions connected with the administration and profits of his firm. All that is important for him is to create the impression among the rank-and-file workers that their opinions carry weight, their interests are taken into account, that they are equal partners in the firm and thereby to stimulate their interest in their work and their sense of responsibility in relation to the affairs of the firm and at the same time to make it appear that the interests of the workers and those of the company are compatible. For this reason the type of problems, in discussion of which workers are invited to participate, are as a rule confined to those of secondary importance.

"Workers' participation" assumes different forms in different companies. During World War II many American factories set up joint production committees each in charge of some aspect of production and consisting of representatives from the management, the shopfloor and the trade union. Official figures show that by July 1945 committees of this type were functioning in some 3,000 plants.[1] However, even bourgeois sociologists themselves admit, the majority of these production committees were not functioning at all and existed merely on paper.[2] After the last war they were all disbanded.

In the postwar period many companies, in particular those where workers were not organised in trade unions, started holding joint meetings for the management and representatives of workers' production groups. According to official

[1] *International Labour Review*, February 1949, p. 201.
[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 439.

statements all Tektronix employees are divided by the management into groups, each of which elects one of its number as its special representative for a six-month period. Before taking up their new responsibilities these elected representatives are given special instruction by the management as to the nature of their functions. Every two weeks the production team representatives assemble for a meeting chaired by one of the company directors or their authorised deputy where they discuss questions brought up either by the firm management or representatives of the production teams. Company directors regard these meetings as nothing more than a "communication" channel designed to keep employees' morale high. At the end of their term in office the production team representatives are invited to a special luncheon given by the company's president where they are thanked for their services and handed diplomas. House journals carry special material devoted to such functions and photographs of those who attend them.

The danger for the workers lying in these pseudo-democratic contrivings resorted to by the corporations is that they give some workers the illusion that their role in the company is receiving recognition and that they are their employers' "partners". The management of American Telephone and Telegraph, for instance, said that its workers accepted "restrictions" more willingly when they had a hand in formulating them.[1]

Despite the great variety of definitions of "workers' participation" that exist they all have one thing in common: proposals put forward by the workers are regarded as suggestions which by no means have to be implemented. Final decisions on all matters still rest with the management. Peter Drucker, a well-known supporter of "workers' participation", writes that "the self-government of the plant community can only be justified if it strengthens management. Its functions are not only limited; they are also strictly subordinate."[2]

The pseudo-democratic nature of this type of "workers' participation" is even acknowledged by certain bourgeois

[1] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 187.
[2] P. Drucker, *The New Society*, p. 283.

sociologists and trade union leaders. The American industrial sociologist Douglas McGregor writes that "participation becomes a farce when it is applied as a device for kidding people into thinking they are important".[1] Robert McMurry, another sociologist, writes in a similar vein when he points out that all talk of democratic management is in fact nothing but wishful thinking.[2] Former head of the research centre of the textile workers' unions, Barkin stresses that this kind of "participation" is not a manifestation of democracy since "it allows for little free discussion or decision-making. The threat of superior economic force is ever present and sufficient to cow workers into subordinating or sublimating their own values or thought."[3]

Capitalist concerns only create the appearance of democratic management. Genuine participation in management is impossible given the exploitation inherent in the capitalist mode of production.

One of the practical expressions of "human relations" theory given particular prominence is the encouragement of rationalisation proposals through material and non-material incentives. Each case of such recognition is splashed abroad in factory newssheets and through other channels of communication, which also carry material describing meetings between rationalisers from the shopfloor on the one hand and employers and executives on the other, print congratulatory addresses, etc. Employers are assisted in work of this kind by the National Association of Suggestions Systems.

In writings on "human relations" attention is always drawn without fail to the main difficulty which employers come up against in their efforts to expand and develop suggestions systems, namely the unwillingness of workers to put forward suggestions for any improvements at all for fear of depriving themselves or their fellow-workers of a job. American sociologist T. Purcell quotes an industrial

[1] D. McGregor, "The Human Side of Enterprise", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 56.

[2] R. McMurry, "The Case for Benevolent Autocracy", *Harvard Business Review*, January-February 1958, p. 83.

[3] S. Barkin, "Trade Unionist Appraises Management Personnel Philosophy", *Research in Industrial Human Relations*, p. 117.

worker on the subject: "It is good to make suggestions but it is not good to suggest so that somebody is not able to feed their children at home."[1] As a result of this situation most of the suggestions put forward by workers concern not the production process but working conditions. Research on this subject conducted for one large American company by Keith Davis, showed that 78 per cent of workers' suggestions were concerned with working conditions and only 22 per cent connected with production, although the maximum bonus for innovations in production was 40 times larger than the highest bonus for suggestions connected with improvements in working conditions.[2]

When rewarding inventiveness exhibited by workers employers endeavour not merely to reap material benefit from these rationalisation proposals but at the same time to make propaganda-capital out of them. Purcell points out that if the company adopts a worker's suggestions the latter tends to identify his interest with those of the company, which is to the advantage of the employers.[3] The significance of this fact is also underlined by representatives of West German industry. The newspaper *Die Welt* quotes the head of the personnel and social welfare department at the Farbwerke Höchst AG concern and a representative of the German Institute of Industrial Economics as saying that the main aim of encouraging rationalisation proposals is to "help turn subordinates into self-disciplined employees who will see things in the light of the company's interests", while the objective of encouraging workers to come forward with these suggestions is "of secondary importance".[4]

Well aware of workers' natural aspiration to creative work advocates of the "human relations" approach attempt to make use of their initiative and creative potential so as to intensify the workers' ideological enslavement in the interests of their employers.

[1] T. Purcell, *Blue Collar Man. Patterns of Dual Allegiance in Industry*, p. 116.
[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 442.
[3] T. Purcell, *Blue Collar Man. Patterns of Dual Allegiance in Industry*, p. 116.
[4] *Die Welt*, April 29, 1967.

In order to consolidate by material means the illusion created with the help of various psychological devices, to the effect that there exists a "social partnership" between workers and capitalists, many American corporations practise so-called "workers' sharing in profits". This policy is made use of by the apologists of capitalism, including advocates of the "human relations" approach, in order to propagate the idea of a "dispersal of property" in modern capitalist society which gradually transforms it into "people's capitalism". In 1949 the American economist Kenneth M. Thompson published a book which presented "profit-sharing" as one of the main proofs of the emergence of "democratic capitalism in America".[1] In the 1960s a total of two million workers were involved in all forms of "profit-sharing" in the United States, according to figures drawn up by Peter Drucker.[2]

The forms that "profit-sharing" assumes vary considerably (they include various types of payments that workers receive in addition to their ordinary wages) and involve a highly complicated system for calculating the "share" each worker is to receive. However, the rank-and-file workers in the corporations are deprived of the most important thing of all—and this even the "human relations" men are obliged to admit—namely the right to a voice in decisions relating to the vital aspect of "profit-sharing", i.e., "how the pie is to be cut".[3]

The greatest concession that "profit-sharing" policy admits of is the involvement of workers in decisions relating to the distribution of the limited part of the profits allocated to the workers. Tektronix sets aside 35 per cent of its profits for distribution among its employees. Of this 35 per cent seven and a half per cent goes into the pension fund, fifteen per cent is paid out in monthly bonuses and twelve and a half as bi-annual bonuses over and above regular wages. The size of such supplements depends on the size of employees' basic wages and the level of the company's profits over a

[1] K. M. Thompson, *Profit-Sharing. Democratic Capitalism in American Industry*, New York, 1949.

[2] *New York Times Magazine*, October 10, 1961, p. 125.

[3] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management*, p. 261.

given period. This means that highly paid employees receive correspondingly larger supplements.

When the state of the market is unstable there is no guarantee that "profit-sharing" will automatically ensue. It should also be remembered that basic wages in companies which practise "profit-sharing" are as a rule below the official national average for the given branch of industry. Average hourly earnings in Tektronix factories in October 1965, for instance, was 1.54 dollars, while the average hourly earnings in American factories producing electronic equipment was 2.62 dollars.[1] This means that the supplements paid out in keeping with "profit-sharing" schemes in essence do no more than make up the difference with regular wages in the given branch of industry. Yet these sums presented in the form of special supplements create the illusion that workers and employers benefit from company profits as equal partners.

The American company Kaiser Steel Corporation introduced in the sixties a "long range sharing plan" enabling workers to benefit from cuts in production costs. Many prominent "human relations" experts helped to elaborate this plan.[2]

At one time the American press gave a good deal of coverage to the so-called progressive "profit-sharing" plan that in 1961 was incorporated into an agreement between the united automobile workers' union and the American Motors Company. According to this plan in 1962 a sum of 9,767,000 dollars was set aside for the workers out of the overall profits. Of this one-third went to buy for each worker an average of 7.3 shares of AMC stock worth roughly 129 dollars and these were to be obtainable only after 1964. The other two-thirds went to increase pensions and life and medical insurance.[3] This meant that most of these advantages related to the future and meanwhile the company could make use of the money officially set aside for the workers as it thought fit.

[1] *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1965, p. 1508.

[2] For more details see A. Kondrashka, "The Kaiser Plan", *Mirovaya economika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya*, 1965, No. 6.

[3] *Business Week*, November 24, 1962, p. 60.

The American press made a great deal of fuss over this plan attempting to represent it as a "victory for socialism" in the USA. The absurdity of such assertions has been acknowledged even by various bourgeois sociologists. Peter Drucker, a well-known apologist of monopoly capitalism, wrote in this connection that "far from being ... a significant 'victory for socialism', the *American Motors* plan is ... a small but clear victory for management".[1]

Distribution of small numbers of shares among workers is a form of "profit-sharing" frequently recommended by advocates of the "human relations" approach, in order to place not merely powerful capitalists but also small-scale shareholders including those from the ranks of the workers in the category of factory owners. The inadequacy of such attempts has already been referred to in Chapter I. The material advantages gained by the worker-shareholder are also negligible in scale: *The American Economic Review* pointed out that "at recent yields he might expect dividends of forty dollars per year".[2]

Esso Standard Oil Company sells shares to its workers on a wide scale, indeed 20,000 of its 27,000 workers have shares in the company. However these workers' shares in the first place account for less than one per cent of the total and secondly their stock is held by a company-selected trustee and cannot be voted by them.[3] Once a year the West German concern Farbwerke Höchst AG sells shares to its employees at reduced rates. Yet each worker is only entitled to buy a maximum of two shares that must be purchased in the course of a specified month and he is then under an obligation not to sell them for five years. The cost of these two shares is 275 marks. In the 1968/69 financial year 26,500 employees purchased such shares or in other words close on 40 per cent of the concern's blue- and white-collar workers. This meant that the management was able in a duration of one month to sell over seven million marks' worth of shares for guaranteed five years regardless of the state of the concern's affairs. No one is able to foretell how much these shares will be worth five years hence. Interest

[1] *New York Times Magazine*, October 15, 1961, p. 126.
[2] *The American Economic Review*, June 1958, p. 338.
[3] J. M. Budish, *People's Capitalism*, New York, 1958, p. 22.

on the two shares comes to a mere 20 marks a year.[1] By selling their employees two shares apiece the management assures itself of an increase in the number of small shareholders (the concern's total number of shareholders comes to over 300,000).[2] This situation is quite in keeping with the interests of the giants among the industrial corporations, since the savings of the small shareholders in the framework of the investment system eventually come under the control of those who have the decisive holding providing them with an instrument for still greater concentration of wealth and economic power.

"Profit-sharing" by no means guarantees workers material advantages. Whatever guise it may take this technique is essentially a form of indirect wage, which serves to increase the worker's dependence on his employer. The worker does not know in advance how much he will receive. Furthermore the size of the supplement the workers are to receive is made dependent on the state of the market which means that workers are deprived of such supplements at the very time when they need them most.

"Profit-sharing" is regarded by some companies as "a basic means of preserving the capitalistic system and combatting the doctrines of communism".[3] Accompanied as it is by concentrated "brain-washing" of the workers it represents a threat to the labour movement in so far as it undermines class solidarity of the workers and impedes their organised struggle for higher wages, unified national rates and weakens their class consciousness.

According to experts in the theoretical and practical aspects of "human relations" education and social welfare schemes serve to demonstrate the "sincere concern" shown by the employer for his workers. Courses in general subjects occupy an important place among such schemes. Back in the thirties Western Electric in Hawthorne ran an evening school with 3,000 students in attendance.[4] Although these

[1] *Farben-Post*, February 1970, pp. 18-19.
[2] Ibid., January 1970, p. 6.
[3] E. B. Flippo, *Profit-Sharing in American Business*, The Ohio State University, Columbus Ohio, 1954, p. 15.
[4] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, p. 103.

courses were not free of charge the tuition was provided at reduced rates within the workers' reach. After the war the company had as many as 70 evening courses running.[1] The Tektronix company education programme drawn up for the 1965/66 academic year included a hundred different courses consisting of an average of 20-40 hours tuition each.[2]

Courses of this type set up by the monopolies ascribe particular importance to technical subjects. For example, 3/4 of all the courses incorporated into the Tektronix programme are on the whole, or in part at least, connected with specific aspects of the production of electronic equipment while the remainder are devoted to the history of the company, the basic principles of "human relations" theory, language proficiency courses and training in public speaking and "effective chairing of discussions" (these last two courses are designed for "group representatives", who at Tektronix personify the company's "profit-sharing" policy). The programme also includes courses in history, economics, politics and philosophy, devoted to such subjects as "Philosophy and Science", "The Theory and Practice of Business", "The American Economic System", "The Individual and Modern Society", "The American Government and Foreign Policy", "The US Constitution", "The USA in a Changing World", etc. Books recommended for reading in social and political subjects include works of well-known champions of modern capitalism such as John K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*, Adolf Berle's *The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution* and Hans Morgenthau's *The Purpose of American Politics*. In order to make it look as if the programme's approach to the subjects under discussion is an objective one, reading lists also include works by sociologists of radical and liberal sympathies such as C. Wright Mills, Erich Fromm, David Riesman and Vance Packard.

Tuition for these courses laid on by Tektronix is given by regular company employees (administrative and techno-

[1] G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 422.

[2] *Tektronix Education Program 1965-1966*, pp. 1, 51-53. A detailed programme for all such courses is sent out in advance to all employees' homes complete with a form to fill in for those who wish to attend them.

logical personnel and psychologists) and outside teachers from nearby colleges and Portland University. The courses are fee-paying (maximum rate 16 dollars per course), however, certain workers are exempted from paying fees. This question is decided personally by a worker's immediate superior according to the latter's assessment of his subordinate's work, behaviour and "loyalty" to the company.

Industrial companies attach a good deal of importance to tuition in subjects connected with "human relations". A survey involving 150 directors from large American corporations was carried out by William Whyte to ascertain which qualities they look for most in their employees and it emerged that the majority of them (70 per cent) regarded as the most valuable quality in this context the ability to get along well with people, etc.[1] Publications aimed at workers constantly stress the need to develop these qualities. One of the handbooks put out by Tektronix for its workers reminds readers that "the good things you do will not go unnoticed at Tektronix, and particularly your ability to get along well with your associates".[2] "Human relations" researches assume that a certain amount of training in these subjects for workers will make them more receptive to "human relations" techniques applied by executives and supervisors.[3]

So as to give workers more effective instruction in the basic principles of "human relations" certain firms have recently started using accelerated methods of programmed tuition involving electronic teaching devices. The Human Development Institute in the United States prepared a course of special programme instruction in "human relations" courses, which claims after ten lessons of an hour's duration with the use of electronic teaching devices to be able to change worker's behaviour in the appropriate direction. The firm has sold its programme to some fifty firms in the United States, while the New York firm Basic Systems Inc. is now specialising in this branch of programmed tuition. It has already prepared five courses treating a range

[1] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, pp. 148-50.
[2] *You and Tektronix*, p. 24.
[3] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, pp. 151-52.

of "human relations" problems. This programmed instruction is used by over 70 corporations.[1]

Experts in the theory and practice of "human relations" devote particular attention to the instruction or "orientation" of new workers. As mentioned earlier special handbooks are issued for this group of workers that are followed up with oral explanations from immediate superiors and special courses of instruction for newcomers. At Tektronix all new workers have to attend a four-hour session organised during working hours at which they are briefed on the history of the company, its organisational structure and production routine and the content of the handbook already distributed is explained. This "orientation" is aimed to facilitate "the guided adjustment of the employee to the organization and his work environment"[2] but at the same time "seeks to create favourable attitudes toward the company, its policies and its personnel".[3]

Economic and political instruction for workers in a spirit corresponding to the company's interests is becoming a subject of increasing importance for employers. According to investigations made by American sociologists Miller and Form many large companies devise special political education programmes.[4] General Electric laid on a special course for 300 thousand of its blue- and white-collar workers entitled "The Basic Facts about American Free Enterprise". The president of Urwick, Orr and Partners admitted in his turn that American corporations have been investing millions of dollars in "economic education", namely "direct attempts, financed by the employer to instruct those he employs in the advantages of the existing economic system in general and of being employed by the corporation in particular".[5]

Education programmes of this sort are supplemented by special libraries provided at the factory for blue- and white-collar workers. In the plants of many American corporations these libraries consist of booklets displayed on shelves

[1] *Business Week*, April 18, 1964, p. 142.
[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 333.
[3] Ibid.
[4] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 686.
[5] L. F. Urwick, "The Purpose of Business", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 85.

inside the factory for the workers to use free of charge. West German journalist Friedrich Mörtzsch acknowledges that these publications "have a definite purpose: they are designed to fill the workers with faith in free enterprise stressing its advantages and countering all attacks made against the system".[1]

The original sponsor of such workers' libraries was H. Cohen, then head of the personnel department in General Motors: he referred to them as a source of ideas for physical and mental rejuvenation.

In order to conceal their actual aims and in order to attract readership employers when organising such libraries intersperse books on political and socio-economic subjects (that account for about a third of the libraries' stocks) with literature of a lighter type containing all manner of everyday advice and books of the "self-help" category. Books of the latter variety make up close on 25 per cent of all those on the shelves of these factory libraries.[2] In order to supply the needs of small companies a special private firm Good Reading Rack Service provides libraries in more than 1,700 companies with 52 different booklets a year, each of which costs the companies concerned a mere 5 cents.[3] Most companies order enough of these booklets for there to be one per every three workers on their staff. The books provided in these factory libraries are laid on not only for company personnel but also in the hopes that they will be read by their families as well.

"Human relations" experts attach especial importance to means of bringing influence to bear on workers' families, since the latter play an important role in relation to workers' morale and behaviour in general. Much of the publicity put out by the corporations is aimed at workers' families, to whom the corporation managements circulate special information bulletins. "Human relations" manuals call for the implementation of special schemes to acquaint workers' families with the history of the firm and its production and give them as keen as possible a sense of "belonging" to the firm.

[1] F. Mörtzsch, *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 152.
[2] Ibid., S. 154.
[3] Ibid., S. 156.

A common practice designed to foster "human relations" is the organisation of "family tours" round a corporation's factories. Tours of this sort according to statements made by many American psychologists and sociologists should help to give workers a sense of pride in their work and temporarily at least remove any hostility to company management. "Even antimanagement employees usually derive pleasure from showing their families where they work and what they do", note Miller and Form in this connection. "To stimulate this sense of identification several companies have inaugurated 'family days'. The employees' families are taken on a tour of the plant, shown where the family member works, and then entertained and fed. All animosities are temporarily forgotten."[1]

Tours of the plant are designed to leave workers' families with a favourable impression of the company. It is to the same end that various celebrations are organised for workers, particularly in connection with Christmas, the New Year or company jubilees. After a speech from the company president on such occasions the floor is usually given to a trade union representative. Factory and local newspapers make a good deal of such celebrations stressing the "generosity" shown by company owners and management, the "warm atmosphere" that presides and last but not least the "sense of solidarity" and "common aims" between workers and employers.

Nor do "human relations" experts lose sight of workers during their leisure hours. They advise employers to make specific outlays in order to establish their control over their employees' leisure, distract them from "obsessions" and also to present themselves in a more favourable light. Roethlisberger and Dickson for example explained the long absence of strikes at Western Electric by the fact that the company spent a good deal on giving workers a sense of involvement in the company's interests. They laid special emphasis on the activities of the Hawthorne Club, of which all company employees were members. The club used to organise dances, sports functions and other evening entertainments. Sociologists point out that cultural functions organised by employers

[1] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 424.

help to foster among workers a sense of "identification" with a larger group, with the company, while the activities of sports societies enable the management to control and channel in directions that present no threat to its interests any "aggressive" feelings or sense of solidarity to be found among the workers, etc.[1] Basing their conclusions on the false assumption that class antagonism can be explained by psychological factors alone, experts in the practical aspects of "human relations" deceive themselves with the false hope that social clubs, sports and other such projects will enable them to avert any manifestations of the working-class hostility to the corporations' power.

At the present time many corporations are setting up clubs and recreation facilities for their employees. A recent (National Industrial Recreation Association) survey estimates that companies are spending from 5 to 10 dollars per man per year for recreation, which represents an annual total of one thousand million dollars.[2] More than half the costs of leisure facilities are covered by the workers themselves in the form of club subscriptions and the profit which the company makes from the sale of various commodities in shops situated within recreation premises. Some companies merely provide the necessary land on which the workers themselves then erect clubs and sports facilities. Group outings for workers and their families are also encouraged, for these—as is noted in "human relations" textbooks—provide one of the more convenient opportunities for informal contact between the management and its subordinates. When participating in works outings and other forms of recreation laid on for employees management representatives go out of their way to acquaint themselves more closely with their subordinates' moods and put themselves over as "democratic".

As a result of militant pressure from the American labour movement after the Second World War many corporations found themselves obliged to provide pension, medical and insurance funds for their employees. However pensions are small. Even a modest pension amounting to not more than

[1] F. Roethlisberger and W. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, pp. 540-41.

[2] *Business Week*, April 11, 1964, pp. 98-100.

20 per cent of an employee's previous wages may require twenty years of continuous employment.[1] The size of a worker's pension depends on a number of factors. In most cases workers make specific contributions to pension funds that are deducted from their wages. Each company lays down its own rules and conditions of payment in this connection (the total number of qualified pension and profit-sharing plans in the United States was nearly 100,000 in 1964[2]). According to official documents put out by Tektronix the size of the pension to which each of its employees is eligible depends on the size of his wages, the number of years he has worked in the company, the state of the company's profits over the period of his employment and the rate of interest obtained from the pension fund capital over the preceding five years. These calculations are highly complex, the conditions inconstant and therefore, as noted in the company's handbook, no one is in a position to foretell the size of his pension.

Money from corporation medical funds are usually spent on providing first aid and do not provide for any long periods of treatment. Regular deductions are made from employees' wages to insurance funds from which benefit payments are made in cases of long illness, loss of capacity for work or fatal accidents.

Of no small importance when it comes to the formation of various social welfare funds by the corporations are the tax advantages attached to such funds. The part of a company's profits which is earmarked for social welfare funds is exempt from taxation. The size of such allocations is often considerable, and in so far as the companies are not subject to any control as regards the size of their social welfare funds and their distribution, this enables them under the guise of welfare fund allocations to make a considerable part of their revenues exempt from taxation and in practice turn these funds into a disguised safe for profits.

It is mainly the large corporations that go in for cultural and welfare schemes. The following figures are revealing.

[1] *AFT-CIO American Federationalist*, March 1965.

[2] *Proceedings of the New York University 17th Annual Conference on Labor*, May 25-27, 1964, Washington, 1964, p. 472.

In 1960 according to statistical reports on welfare and pension schemes, total assets reached 33.4 billion dollars. The hundred largest schemes in US companies, constituting 0.1 per cent of the total number, had assets of 17.8 billion dollars or more than half the total.[1]

Champions of capitalism give wide and noisy publicity to "human relations" policies, make a lot of the "humane" and "unselfish" nature of modern capitalism and of the "spontaneous concern" shown by company owners for employees. But just how unselfish and spontaneous is this "concern"?

Welfare and cultural schemes the management of industrial corporations are compelled to introduce for their employees are prompted by egoistic class interests. From the economic point of view they essentially represent part of labour costs deducted by the capitalists from the overall wage fund and returned to the workers in the guise of voluntary allocations from the employers' profits. Capitalists are compelled to introduce the welfare and cultural schemes because they are essential for the normal refurbishing of the workers' physical and mental resources in the context of modern capitalist production.

The corporations' expenditure on welfare schemes, or what W. G. Scott refers to as "philanthropic aims" is seen to "produce the greatest material and ideological returns to the corporation".[2] Regardless of the sums involved this expenditure always accounts for no more than a small part of the enormous profits obtained by the corporations. Over the last twenty years corporation profits have been growing steadily: in 1947 in the United States they amounted to 23,600 million dollars, in 1955 43,000 million,[3] in 1965 73,500 million[4] and in 1968, 89,200 million dollars.[5] Hyman Lumer, leading member of the US Communist Party, noted that the monopoly profits after taxes nearly doubled from 1960 to 1968 while weekly wages after taxes rose only 27 per cent and

[1] *Current History*, July 1965, p. 29.
[2] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management*, p. 368.
[3] *Statistical Abstract of the US*, 1961, p. 217.
[4] See *World Marxist Review*, 1965, No. 11, Appendix, p. 7.
[5] See *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya*, 1969, No. 8, Appendix, p. 67.

real wages only 10 per cent.[1] In 1955 after-tax profits of manufacturing corporations amounted to $702 per manufacturing employee,[2] while in 1965 the Chrysler corporation made profits of 2,689 dollars per worker in their pay and the equivalent figures for Ford and General Motors were 3,581 and 5,570 dollars respectively.[3]

The bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to introduce welfare and culture schemes advocated by "human relations" experts also as a result of pressure from the militant working class both on a national and international scale. It should be remembered that industrial corporations started using certain forms of non-material incentives for their employees and introducing certain educational and welfare schemes after such methods had become widespread in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Making good use of these methods advocates of "human relations" directed them towards quite different ends in keeping with the selfish purposes of monopoly capital. Monopoly capital uses "human relations" methods only when it suits their purposes. The vice-president of one of the largest American corporations made a cynical and unabashed acknowledgement of this fact, declaring that sociology had demonstrated that men produced better when happy and therefore he and his colleagues went out of their way to see that they were happy, but adding that if experience had shown that men produced still better in a rage then they would have done everything possible to see that the men were in a state of perpetual rage.[4] It is rare nowadays for a spokesman of the bourgeoisie to make such a blatant demonstration of the inhuman nature of capitalism.

American "human relations" experts do not conceal the aims they set themselves when they discuss their work with their colleagues from abroad. One of their number acknowledged that " 'good human relations' is now just another phase of 'good management'.... I think that it is important for Europeans to recognise that the labour poli-

[1] *World Marxist Review*, 1970, No. 2, p. 21.
[2] *The American Economic Review*, June 1958, Number 3, p. 338.
[3] See *Pravda*, May 24, 1967.
[4] J. M. de Lattre, *L'entreprise dans l'économie moderne américaine*, Paris, 1953, p. 25.

cies of American enterprises are based upon hard-boiled and enlightened self-interest rather than upon nebulous ethical concepts".[1] The cynical frankness of American businessmen on this subject took even their West German colleagues by surprise when some of the latter visited the United States to make a study of "human relations in industry" in that country. In a report drafted by a West German delegation after its members had spent eight weeks studying "human relations" at work in giant US corporations such as General Electric and American Telephone and Telegraph Company they drew attention to the amazing frankness with which it was frequently pointed out that good "human relations" must be sought after for the sake of productivity and not for any ethical reasons.[2]

Admissions to the effect that profit is one of the underlying reasons for the introduction of "human relations" techniques and one of its basic aims can be found in certain works by American sociologists designed for employers and executives. The well-known American sociologists George Strauss and Leonard Sayles state with no hesitation that "the purpose of business is not to make people happy (though some have argued otherwise) but to achieve its over-all goals of productivity and profitability. And the purpose of human relations is to help management elicit the co-operation of people in working toward those goals".[3] Another revealing statement in this connection is that made according to *Time* magazine, by one of the best-known American psychiatrists to an audience of fifteen hundred supermarket executives: "It is going to pay off in cold dollars and cents to management, if we could put some of these general principles of values, human relationships, really into practice." "One speaks of 'human relations' and one means the most in-human relations,"[4] was the mordant comment of the

[1] *Les problemes sociaux dans la politique*, Bruxelles, 1956, p. 69.

[2] *Human Relations in Industry. Die Menschlichen Beziehungen. Beobachtung einer deutschen Studiengruppe in USA*, Munich, 1956, p. 13.

[3] G. Strauss, L. Sayles, *Personnel. The Human Problems of Management*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1961, p. 733.

[4] E. Fromm, *The Sane Society*, New York, 1955, p. 182.

American sociologist Erich Fromm on this assertion by this science racketeer.

Yet this state of affairs is inevitable in capitalist society. Regardless of the ruses resorted to by employers to present themselves as "humane" and sincere in their "concern" for workers' welfare, their relationship with the workers in their employ will always be an economic, not a human relationship,[1] as Engels pointed out long ago, for the very aim of capitalist production is to secure surplus value by exploiting the labour of wage workers. When they adapt for their own purposes theories such as "human relations" employers endeavour to use these in order to disguise capitalist exploitation: they encourage the main body of workers as against "alien elements", production committees as against trade unions, solidarity within separate groups of employees as against general solidarity among all workers and finally they promote devotion to the company and the ideas of "social partnership" and "humane capitalism" as opposed to socialist class consciousness. The practice of "human relations" always points to the fact that this approach is aimed at dividing the working class and undermining its ideological stand.

[1] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 2, p. 497.

CHAPTER III

CRISIS AND CURRENT TRENDS IN THE "HUMAN RELATIONS" DOCTRINE

One of the main explanations for the wide dissemination of "human relations" ideas in the capitalist countries lies, as mentioned earlier, in the fact that monopolies hoped with the help of this doctrine to undermine the strength of the labour movement and put an end to the proletariat's class battles.

Founders of the doctrine, Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger, developed in their early works the idea that it is essential to take into account the influence of various groups on workers' behaviour, while choosing to ignore the influence of the working people's class organisations, including trade unions, which in the United States for example are the only mass organisation of the working class. Their writings like those of their colleagues dating from the thirties and forties are characterised by what H. Sheppard described as a virtually complete neglect of workers' organisations as a vital variable in industrial relations.[1]

This can be explained in part by the absence of any trade unions at the time of the Hawthorne experiment in factories belonging to Western Electric. Early advocates of the "human relations" approach who took the Hawthorne factory as a typical example of existing conditions in American industry, and thus shut their eyes to the industrial world outside that company, failed to appreciate the true significance of the proletariat's class organisations.

[1] H. Sheppard, "Approaches to Conflict in American Industrial Sociology", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 174.

However, later on, when the trade union movement began to gain ground and play an increasingly important role in relations between labour and capital, advocates of the "human relations" approach could no longer afford to ignore it. From the second half of the forties onwards more and more of these researchers started investigating the unions in an attempt first and foremost to establish which categories of workers joined the unions and for what reasons. Research of this type is still going on today and on frequent occasions projects are directly sponsored by the corporations.

Being as they are in the grip of concepts coloured by subjective idealism Mayo's followers seek to explain the growth of the trade unions once again with reference to psychological factors. A number of sociologists consider that the main factor leading workers to join trade unions is an "aggressive nature" or a condition of "psychological maladjustment". R. McMurry maintained that it is only workers who are emotionally overcharged that join unions, workers who do not wish to bear personal responsibility for their actions "no matter how brutal and anti-social" their behaviour may be, and who once they have joined a union feel themselves "free to commit aggressions".[1] An equally important factor according to other like-minded sociologists is the worker's urge to seek in union activity satisfaction of psychological needs such as the desire for self-expression, group acceptance, a sense of belonging, personal security and the opportunity to assert personal prestige,[2] in other words needs which workers are unable to satisfy in present-day capitalist production.

On the basis of statements of this type it was concluded that if employers succeeded in satisfying these psychological needs felt by workers by introducing "human relations" techniques, then the unions "would prove superfluous". Or, to put it another way, there would be no point in a worker joining a trade union and fighting to defend his rights and interests if he were to believe that his employer himself was showing "constant concern" for his welfare.

[1] See L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 202.
[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, pp. 70-72.

In this undermining of the trade unions a particularly important role is assigned to "small groups". According to "human relations" theory the worker's psychological needs for group acceptance, the expression of solidarity and for self-expression can be satisfied by any group or organisation and for this reason employers encourage the setting-up of numerous small organisations (ethnic societies, ex-servicemen's associations, hobby groups, etc.) and hope to use these to counteract the growing influence of the proletariat's class organisations. S. Barkin notes in this connection that "the rise of unions has multiplied the efforts of personnel managers to establish alternative groupings which will compete successfully for the workers' loyalty".[1]

This contrasting of trade union activity with "human relations" practices means that the advocates of the doctrine are defending "anti-union and anti-worker positions". Baritz writes that "this anti-union, pro-management attitude looms large in the thinking of virtually every one of the men who at one time or another were associated with Mayo".[2] So it is no coincidence that the collection of articles entitled *The American Business Creed* qualifies as a human relations expert "the modern business hero, the man of whom it can be said, 'His six thousand employees are non-union in the very center of unionism' ".[3]

The chances of possibly ousting the unions by using "human relations" techniques were investigated most thoroughly by company owners in American industry. Herbert Carey attempts to show that if employers had started to implement "human relations" principles several decades earlier, they could have averted the passing of the Wagner Act which guaranteed the unions certain rights.[4] The anti-union flavour of "human relations" is acknowledged by other bourgeois writers in this field. Peter Drucker for example wrote that "human relations" policies are regarded by the leading lights of American business as a means of busting the unions and even making them "wither on the vine".[5]

[1] *Human Relations for Management. The Newer Perspective*, p. 369.
[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 113.
[3] *The American Business Creed*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 135.
[4] *Management for Tomorrow*, Philadelphia, 1956, pp. 36-37.
[5] Quotation from G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 425.

The introduction of "human relations" technique has impeded the growth of the trade union movement in a big way since the war. There have been cases where those employers who used these techniques most skilfully succeeded in obstructing the setting-up of unions within their factories altogether. Others succeeded in restricting the influence of unionism to the creation of so-called company trade unions. At the Western Electric factories in Hawthorne for example, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers tried in vain for several years to organise the plant.[1] Indeed in this particular company, according to Georges Friedmann, not a single strike had taken place as late as 1950.[2] It is worth noting the comment of George McComb, one of the leaders of the union for workers in the meat-canning industry: in a conversation with American sociologist Purcell he pointed out that in the factories belonging to the firm Swift and Co. which had "a more diplomatic policy in handling its employees" it was harder to get the workers to strike than in similar factories belonging to other companies that used traditional "heavy-handed" methods in relations with labour.[3]

However the employers' hope that in "human relations" they had found a foolproof means of getting rid of unions and strikes on a national scale proved, as was to have been expected, ill-founded.

The corporations when they resorted to cunning social manoeuvres based on "human relations" theory were only able to slow down, put a partial brake on the spread of the union movement which came into being as part of the objective logic of class antagonisms inherent in capitalist society: however they could not arrest the movement's spread altogether.

At the end of the forties and during the early fifties when the "human relations" approach enjoyed its greatest popularity in the United States the number of trade union members there still continued to grow. According to official data for the 1945-1955 period membership figures went up

[1] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 106.
[2] G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 425.
[3] Quotation from T. Purcell, *Blue Collar Man...*, p. 76.

by almost four million to reach by 1956 the impressive figure of 18,477,000.

Once convinced of the futility of attempts to render the unions "unnecessary" for the workers the American monopolies started changing their tactics. At the Rome Conference of Human Relations in Industry (1956) bourgeois experts in the field called attention to the fact that while "in the early stage of the application of these new techniques of 'human relations' the trade unions were ignored and even opposed. Later, however it has been recognised in the United States that to be effective and successful, the whole scheme of 'human relations' must be based on satisfactory industrial relations, that is, good and sincere relations between the employers and the trade unions".[1] The corporations were by then obliged to come to terms with the existence of powerful trade union organisations. Trade unions are now declared by bourgeois ideologists to be an "essential" functional link in the system of free enterprise and their efforts are directed in the main at "integrating" the unions into the overall mechanism of the capitalist enterprise, in particular, the mechanism of the "human relations" system. One of the ardent champions of the introduction of these methods into American big business, Robert Johnson writes in this connection that it is important for employers to make sure that "their union relations fit in with the human relations programs.... The union may become an integral part of a program of teamwork, communication and participation. Then it will be a spokesman for the workers but not one that is hostile to the employer.... If the union is made an integral part of human relations programs there is less likelihood of struggles based on conflicting loyalties. There is no basic conflict between workers' loyalty to the company and their allegiance to the union".[2]

This concept of "dual loyalty" formulated by Johnson has since become generally accepted in writings on "human relations", one of many manifestations of the bourgeois theory of "class co-operation". "Human relations" research-

[1] W. Schevenels and K. Casserini, "Memo on the Role of Trade Unions", *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, p. 86.

[2] *Human Relations for Management*, p. 19.

ers maintain that a worker's loyalty to his company is perfectly compatible with his loyalty to his union, in so far as these organisations, as they see them, simply supplement each other when it comes to satisfaction of workers' needs. W. G. Scott writes that "both employment with a company and membership in a union offer the individual rewards on the economic, social and psychological planes. In some cases the company and the union may make equal and parallel contributions to the satisfaction of an individual's needs. But more frequently, perhaps, the rewards from one organisation supplement the shortcomings in the reward structure of the other. If this is a valid statement, then it is possible to make a strong case for the concept of dual allegiance."[1]

This view of the situation is blatantly inconsistent above all because advocates of "human relations" equate organisations whose essence and aims are diametrically opposed, namely the capitalist enterprise complete with owner and management exploiting the workers, and trade unions, whose purpose is to defend the working class against capitalist exploitation. In their attempts to equate the incompatible these writers go out of their way to reduce everything to subjective factors, the favourable or unfavourable attitudes of the individual workers to such "formal" organisations as the company and the trade union.

These writers' interpretation of the concepts "dual allegiance," "company allegiance" or "union allegiance" smacks very much of subjective idealism in nature and is not based on any objective criteria. "Dual allegiance" is defined as a generally favourable attitude among the workers to their company and their trade union. American sociologist T. Purcell defines what he and his colleagues mean by "union allegiance" as "the workers' approval of the idea of having a union to represent him in the plant community";[2] meanwhile "company allegiance" is assessed according to such factors as a worker's attitude to his work, his wages, his work-team, his foreman and the company as a whole. At the same time Purcell makes the following reservation:

[1] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management*, p. 291.
[2] T. Purcell, *Blue Collar Man...*, p. 248.

"Company allegiance doesn't mean that the worker must be happy with everything about his job."[1]

The vague, ill-defined nature of such terms stems from the incorrect premise of the whole concept of workers' "dual allegiance". "Human relations" experts are counting on the underdeveloped class consciousness of those workers who do not grasp the degree to which exploitation is inherent in capitalist production and put this over as the notorious "dual allegiance" which fits in with bourgeois purposes so conveniently.

The idea that "dual loyalty is the rule rather than the except"[2] in mass production is supported and elaborated by many bourgeois sociologists in America. In 1954 a special symposium was held to discuss this subject at the University of Illinois. It was agreed that management personnel and "human relations" experts should work together to achieve a smooth dovetailing of company and union allegiance.

According to American labour legislation the management cannot directly dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labour organisation. However, as Keith Davis points out, "management does by its human relations indirectly affect the leadership and internal affairs of unions" in order to achieve "class co-operation" and "union integration". "Human relations" manuals offer all kinds of advice on this matter. "Human relations" researchers starting out as usual from psychological premises regard co-operation between employers and unions as feasible if efforts are made to improve personal relationships between union leaders and management representatives. Keith Davis writes that if a manager "reacts in an aggressive, suspicious, and hostile manner, it is only natural for union leaders and workers to respond in kind. If, on the other hand, managers see the union as only another problem to be dealt with efficiently and humanely, they can then behave in a calm, friendly, businesslike way, which will motivate a similar response from the union and its members".[3] This leads "human rela-

[1] Ibid., p. 59.
[2] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 424.
[3] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 276.

tions" experts to recommend to employers and executives that they show more tolerance to trade union personnel of all ranks and regard them not as representatives of hostile forces but "as men like themselves with a job to do".[1]

Those concerned with the practical implementation of the "human relations" theory try to make use of trade unions for introducing all "human relations" methods and above all the system of "communication" which the theory involves. They are of the opinion that union organisations offer "a better means of communications than any which the employer could get up by his own resources".[2] Employers and executives are urged to keep union leaders informed of scheduled changes of an organisational or technological nature, of plans for conducting mass surveys of workers' opinions and of the results of such surveys, so that the unions should spread abroad such information along their own channels in which the workers place more trust than those stemming directly from the management. In order to disseminate information and rumours designed to promote the employers' interests skilful use is made of shop-stewards who have the right to circulate among union members during working hours. Recommendations are also made to the effect that union representatives should be included in the various committees embodying "workers' participation" in order to link them to the management through co-operation. Peter Drucker maintains that if the shop-steward were drawn into such committees then "he would no longer exercise his authority against management but in conjunction with it".[3]

The broad mass of American working people and union members view the propaganda on "human relations" and the introduction of the principles it advocates most cautiously. J. Worthy, an American bourgeois sociologist, writes that "from its inception, the so-called 'human-relations' movement has been viewed with considerable skepticism and mistrust by persons outside the ranks of management—particularly by leaders of organised labor and by students of labor problems".[4] West German sociologists Niens and

[1] *K. Davis.* Human Relations at Work, p. 276.
[2] *Human Relations for Management,* p. 20.
[3] P. Drucker, *The New Society,* p. 310.
[4] *Research in Industrial Human Relations, A Critical Appraisal.* pp. 14-15.

Leimig who have made a special study of this question also draw attention to the sceptical attitude of many American trade unions to the practice of "human relations".[1]

However it is the practice of "personnel counselling" which is viewed by workers with the most hostility and distrust; indeed they regard it as a "spying system".[2] Burleigh Gardner, a well-known "human relations" expert who was in charge of the counselling programme for the Hawthorne experiment found himself obliged to admit that the efforts of the counsellor are in many cases "interpreted by the workers as a defense of management; they place the counsellor on the side of management and therefore do not trust him ... the workers feel that there is no use in going to him with their complaints, since he is really only concerned with defending management".[3] Larry Richards, one of the counsellors at the Hawthorne Western Electric factory, complained to Austrian author Robert Jungk of the distrust he met with from workers. When discussing his experience of counselling at that factory in the fifties he commented that "they (the workers —*N.B.*) think I am only there to spy on them. This is one of the major resistance factors that we, counsellors, are up against."[4] Indeed the Iowa Bell Telephone Company was obliged to cancel its "counselling" practices as a result of resistance on the part of the local union.

According to L. Baritz, most union leaders "took the position that counselling was perhaps the most dangerous weapon that management had in its personnel arsenal".[5] William Whyte meanwhile notes that the hostile attitude of the unions to "personnel counselling" of workers was one of the main reasons why this practice has not been adopted on such a wide scale in the United States as other "human relations" techniques.[6]

[1] B. Niens and J. Leimig, "Gewerkschaften und Human Relations", *Human Relations in Industry. Die Menschlichen Beziehungen*, S. 43, 46, 47, 97.

[2] G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 423.

[3] B. Gardner and D. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry*, Homewood, 1950, pp. 335, 338, 289-90.

[4] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 159.

[5] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 165.

[6] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 41.

American workers also viewed special courses in "human relations" for foremen with considerable suspicion. The American economist Robert Guest quoted at a conference on industrial relations organised by Michigan University in 1957 the comment of a worker which he regarded as typical of the attitudes of the majority of workers. "The foremen are all alike. The company trains them guys. They go to school one or two hours a week. We know right well they don't train them how to get along with the workers. They teach them how to pat your back and feel for a soft spot to put the knife in."[1]

Certain unions come out against testing of workers. There have been cases when union leaders have threatened employers with a strike if union members are sent to tests and in this way succeeded in having them dropped. Indeed Solomon Barkin claims that labour's opposition retarded the testing movement.[2]

A sharp attack on the "human relations" approach appeared in print in the United Auto Workers magazine *Ammunition.* In an article entitled "Deep Therapy on the Assembly Line" Mayo's Hawthorne research is sarcastically referred to as "cow sociology"—a science designed to obtain more milk by seeing that the cows are "contented" (this image was taken over by critics of the "human relations" doctrine and became most popular)—and assertions made by advocates of the "human relations" approach to the effect that factory workers are concerned above all with non-material needs rather than wages are made the object of derision, along with assurances from Mayo's followers that employers feel "sincere love" for their workers. The article was illustrated with a cartoon showing an announcement addressed to the workers and signed by the "Boss" which reads: "Even if we do cut your pay and break you down with speed-up, we still love you!" In the course of a discussion with Robert Jungk, the editor of the magazine referred to the deeply negative attitude of workers to "human relations" experts on their factory staff, who are often referred to in the United

[1] R. H. Guest, "The Impact of Changing Technology on Human Relations", *The Emerging Environment of Industrial Relations,* p. 59.

[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power. . . ,* p. 158.

States as "soul engineers". He pointed out that the deep therapy which the "human relations" programmes "honour us with is most unpopular. It is for the most part merely a new name for shadowing, speed-up and oppression."[1]

Solomon Barkin's critical remarks with regard to the "human relations" doctrine soon became widely known. He described traditional "human relations" techniques as a counteroffensive directed against the growth of trade unionism by the employers which has "forced American management to modify its methods of dealing with employees", however this change Barkin sees as a "change of tactics rather than basic philosophy".[2] "The use of ambiguous and mellifluous words such as 'human relations' to describe these practices compounds the villainy of the deception. It takes close study and time to recognise the malignant purposes and unrealistic assumptions of such a 'human relations' approach. . . ."[3]

In his criticism of the extent to which this doctrine is directed against the unions Barkin urges them to make a study of human relations within their own organisations, for example to study the ways in which relationships grow up between union leaders and rank-and-file members, the way in which the worker's image changed thanks to the influence of the unions, etc., so as to make use of the conclusions drawn from such research projects undertaken in the interests of the unions.[4]

When evaluating Barkin's criticism it should be borne in mind that he himself advocates "class co-operation". This means that the sharp tone of his criticism is directed not so much at the essence of the doctrine but rather at those of its traditional methods which are too blatantly directed against the unions and do not contribute towards the establishment of "healthy relations in industry".[5] Barkin recommends that employers should abandon their obsolete policy of ignoring the unions and instead recognise their growing role and pro-

[1] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 160.
[2] *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, pp. 129, 134.
[3] *Research in Industrial Human Relations. A Critical Appraisal*, p. 118.
[4] *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, pp. 135-36.
[5] Ibid., p. 134.

ceed to implement "human relations" principles in such a way as to integrate the unions since only then will it be possible to guarantee the success of the "human relations" policy.[1] This aspect of Barkin's criticism renders it inconsistent and contradictory. He virtually comes out in favour of a rehashed trade union variety of the doctrine which for all intents and purposes would suit the designs of monopoly capital.

Despite the legitimate distrust of "human relations" policy to be found among American workers and their resistance to it on the spot, the campaign against the theory and practice of "human relations" in the United States has not assumed a nation-wide scale.[2] The main fault here lies with the Right-wing leaders of the US unions and their promotion of class collaboration. Trade union "bosses" of the George Meany mould start out from the assumption that "the interests of labour and management are interdependent rather than inimical"[3] and make no secret of their support for the principles of "free enterprise". According to the Right-wing union leaders, maintains progressive American author George Morris, the function of trade unions is simply to see that the workers in their capacity as a component part of the capitalist system receive their fair share. A revealing statement in this connection is to be found in George Meany's Labour Day message (1966): "The union has no desire to take over the enterprise from management. The union does not want to abolish profits and dividends. The union is seeking only what the workers believe is their fair share. . . ."[4]

The American labour movement hits the headlines first and foremost thanks to its wide-scale strikes. No other country can compare with the United States with regard to number, duration and scale of strikes. However the strikes organised

[1] *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, p. 134.

[2] A factor which points indirectly to the half-hearted nature of the criticism levelled at the doctrine of "human relations" by the American unions is that when writers wish to illustrate the unions' negative attitude to the doctrine they almost always refer to one and the same examples—Solomon Barkin's comments and editorials in the UAW magazine, *Ammunition*.

[3] *New York Times Magazine*, December 4, 1955, p. 36.

[4] George A. Meyers, "Some Aspects of the Trade Union Movement", *World Marxist Review*, 1967, No. 3, p. 21.

by the American unions are for the most part of an economic nature. A number of objective and subjective reasons account for the relative political and ideological backwardness of the American labour movement. Significant among these is the United States' historical development, the specific conditions of which promoted the extremely rapid growth of American capitalism with its exceedingly high level of accumulation, the particular context in which the American working class and its unions took shape, the wages that the US working class enjoys which are higher than those in other capitalist countries. These factors paved the way for the emergence of distinctly opportunist trends in the American labour movement, particularly in the trade unions, and account in part for the movement's ideological and political weakness.

The absence of a powerful political working-class movement in the United States, the marked economic character of the union movement struggle and the policy of "class co-operation" pursued by the union leaders all provide the perfect conditions for the "human relations" approach. In his description of "personnel counselling" for individual workers at the Western Electric factories during the Hawthorne experiment the French sociologist Georges Friedmann wrote: "Those in charge of the counselling are convinced that the system will not meet with opposition on the part of the unions. This is possible given the mood of the US unions. Things would undoubtedly be quite different where the labour movement is permeated by an ideology of class struggle, as is the case with the French CGT. The use of a system of this type, designed to make workers less demanding, would definitely give rise to sharp opposition and prove impracticable, at least if it was a system organised on the lines of the Hawthorne one."[1]

Lorenz Baritz maintains that not one of the main US unions would contemplate action on a nation-wide scale in opposition to the "human relations" policy.[2] The question of the stand unions should take with regard to the doctrine of "human relations" has never been brought up for discus-

[1] G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 160.
[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 206.

sion at a national union congress or conference. When a West German delegation visited Washington in 1954 its members were told outright by a representative of the Congress of Industrial Organisation that the CIO leadership was not in a position to define its overall stand on the question of the practice of "human relations" in industry. He tried to explain this by saying that "human relations" policies might in certain cases prove desirable for the unions and that for this reason the question of collaboration with employers in this field is looked into on the spot by local trade union branches. A representative from the information department of the American Federation of Labour was not in favour of "human relations" practices.[1] However the leaders of both organisations and later the leadership of the amalgamated AFL-CIO have never come out with any official statement on the trade unions' attitude to the doctrine. Nor have national leaders of any one particular union come out with such statements.

Despite a certain amount of mistrust of the "human relations" approach and the lack of a common stand on this question, the leadership of the American unions on the whole supports employers' "human relations" methods. Right-wing American union leaders approve of many "human relations" practices. The West German author Friedrich Mörtzsch reports that many of the American union leaders he came across declared that they welcomed any step that management takes to keep employees better informed and believe that their membership should know what the employers want.[2] Union bosses of this mould are not disturbed by the fact that the publicity put out by employers promotes the interests of monopoly capital and is designed to make workers receptive to bourgeois ideas, in so far as the majority of them see no difference between the working-class and the capitalist ideology. This means that the absence of direct attacks against individual unions and union leaders in the press backed by corporations points to the favourable reception of that press among union leaders which in turn contributes

[1] B. Niens and J. Leimig, "Gewerkschaften und Human Relations", *Human Relations in Industry. Die Menschlichen Beziehungen*, S. 47.

[2] F. Mörtzsch. *Offenheit macht sich bezahlt*, S. 142.

to the ideological weakness of the American working class.

The majority of union leaders also approve of mass surveys being conducted among workers. The corporations make every effort, and with no small success, to involve leaders in the planning and organisation of such surveys so as to ensure that union representatives both officially and unofficially let their members know that they approve of workers taking part in these surveys. Moreover the management and union bosses proffer a model of "class co-operation" in their joint discussions of the results gleaned from such surveys in order to "improve human relations" between workers and employees. Examples of such active participation by union leaders in joint discussion with the management of the results of such surveys were cited by a representative of the Detroit Edison Company at the Rome Conference on Human Relations in Industry.[1]

A number of union leaders actively support employers' schemes for "profit-sharing". The leaders of "unions" openly approve of participation schemes introduced by "human relations" experts for involving workers and union representatives in the work of various committees set up by the management.

In 1960 a so-called joint committee on human relations was set up within the steel industry. It consisted of representatives chosen from among the leaders of the steel workers' union and the relevant steel corporations. The committee's sponsors assumed that the representatives of the corporations and the unions would meet for regular top-level meetings for the duration of the collective agreement and settle disputes through negotiation thereby contributing towards the establishment of "human relations" between workers and the management, and paving the way for a "peaceful" conclusion of a new collective agreement between the unions and steel corporations. The original sponsors of this committee were representatives of the steel corporations and also the former president of the steel workers' union David McDonald and his counsel Goldberg, who soon afterwards was appointed Secretary of Labor. George Morris, editor of the New York paper *Worker*, interpreted Goldberg's

[1] *Human Relations in Industry. Rome Conference*, p. 152.

appointment as a token of appreciation for his initiative in setting up the "human relations" committee.[1] Bourgeois writers such as Dennis Beach ascribe to the efforts of this committee the "peaceful (i.e., not accompanied by any strikes) contract settlements in the steel industry for 1962 and 1963".[2]

Thus it can be seen that the logic of class collaboration has led the majority of US union leaders to virtually sanction the "human relations in industry" approach adopted by American employers and to collaborate in its implementation.

A diametrically opposed stand on this subject is adopted by the progressive unions and the Communist Party. In 1955, at the 38th Session of the International Labour Conference, the World Federation of Trade Unions and representatives of trade unions in socialist countries exposed the anti-union, anti-worker aims of this doctrine designed to promote employers' interests.[3] In a manifesto issued by the Fourth World Trade Union Congress held in Leipzig in 1957 the "human relations" doctrine was defined as one of the means used by the monopolies for splitting the labour movement and misleading trade union personnel.[4]

A good deal of attention is devoted to the study of concrete problems cropping up in industry by the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. Naturally enough the theory and practice of "human relations" have also been brought up for discussion. They were the subject of a special conference bringing together Marxists from Europe, America and Asia at the end of 1958 in Rome. The conference was arranged by the editorial board of the Communist and Workers' Parties' journal *World Marxist Review* and the Gramsci Institute (the Italian Communist Party's research centre).

Delegates to the conference called attention to the dangers inherent in the theory and practice of "human relations"

[1] *Worker*, December 12, 1965.

[2] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 119.

[3] See the reports to the 38th Session of the ILC by the WFTU representative and the delegates from the Soviet Union, Poland and Bulgaria (*ILC 38th Session Record of Proceedings*, Geneva, 1955, pp. 93, 114, 137, 163, 184).

[4] See *Usemirnoye profsoyuznoye dvizheniye* (The International Trade Union Movement), 1957, No. 11, Appendix, p. 7.

which they saw as a new means of exploiting the working people and an ideological weapon of the monopolies aimed at splitting the working class and tightening their control over workers' minds. Although the doctrine is in essence bourgeois, it nevertheless touches on problems which are of immediate interest to the working people. If Communist Parties and progressive trade unions are not going to oppose this manoeuvre of the monopolists with effective action then it could well mislead many workers and undermine the labour movement to a considerable extent.

At the Rome Conference of Marxists emphasis was laid on the need to oppose the "human relations" doctrine, in both its theoretical and practical aspects. Communists keep exposing the theoretical basis of the doctrine and its pro-capitalist aims. They attack in forceful terms the bourgeois writers who attempt from a theoretical point of view to prove that a "humanisation" of capitalism is possible and that "human relations" can be established in industry while the domination of the bourgeoisie and private ownership of the means of production are still in force. In their theoretical writings and propaganda the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries demonstrate to the working people—basing their arguments on specific analysis of actual situations and developments—that only a revolutionary severance of capitalist relations of production, only socialism that does away with the exploitation of man by man can create the necessary conditions for genuinely human relations to exist between all members of society.

The Rome Conference devoted considerable effort to the elaboration of specific tactics for opposing the practice of "human relations" in capitalist factories. The need to adapt tactics according to different schemes introduced by employers was singled out. While exposing the publicity, psychological and organisational techniques used to promote "human relations", that are aimed directly at splitting the labour movement and brain-washing workers, the Communists at the same time consider it unwise to reject out of hand all schemes which the corporations find themselves obliged to introduce in connection with their pursuit of the "human relations" approach. Certain economic, cultural and social welfare schemes and also the involvement of workers in the

decision-making process do in fact serve the workers' interests. It was stressed at the Conference that it is up to the Communists and progressive trade unions to point out to the working people with the help of concrete examples that all such schemes are not given away and are by no means expressions of employers' "sincere concern" and "good will", on the contrary they are results of the proletariat's staunch struggle and growing strength and they are introduced thanks to the tremendous increases in the profits the corporations obtain by intensifying their exploitation of the working class. The workers should also realise that welfare schemes in fact constitute part of their wages and are something to which they have every right.

All that the bourgeoisie concedes to the workers, which involves foregoing part of its profits, represents the price it is obliged to pay for the attainment of its selfish goals. Communists rally workers to campaign for economic, welfare and cultural schemes that are part of "human relations" practice to be made available for all categories of blue- and white-collar workers with no exceptions and to see that they are included in collective agreements.

Communist tactics are also aimed at helping workers to take up an offensive stand. The schemes which the corporations introduce in keeping with "human relations" programmes working-class organisations are urged to counter with their own positive programmes incorporating increased economic demands for higher wages and better welfare and cultural facilities and wider participation in management. William Foster pointed out that the workers' struggle for participation in the management of industry can provide the basis for a progressive step forward. "The problem is to see to it that the demand is backed by militant trade unionism and is not turned to class collaboration ends by opportunist trade union leaders."[1]

The demand for workers' democratic control over the corporations and their active participation in management is included in the programmes of many countries' Communist Parties. It rules out class collaboration and envisages the

[1] W. Z. Foster, *Outline History of the World Trade Union Movement*, New York, 1956, p. 529.

growth of the class struggle. Consistent campaigning for effective democratisation of management undermines the power of the monopolies and puts a check on the exploitation of the working people and employers' arbitrary behaviour.

The tactics for opposing "human relations" programmes proposed at the Rome Conference on the one hand allow for a means of satisfying the workers' demands with regard to improved living and working conditions, and on the other are bound to expose the exploitation that lies at the basis of the whole "human relations" system which, with regard to both economic and social concessions, goes only so far and no further. When workers come forward with demands which could reduce the monopolies' profits or result in workers' control over production, wages policy, deductions for welfare schemes, etc., then any capitalist, however much he might champion "human relations" in words, will be sure to react with a decisive No to such demands. For him these demands represent an encroachment on profits, an encroachment on private ownership. This is why active and consistent opposition on the part of the working people to "human relations" policies represents a challenge to the capitalist's power over his factory and helps the working people appreciate the need to do away with the power of monopoly capital on a nation-wide scale.

The US Communist Party is waging a tireless battle to free the working class from the influence of bourgeois ideology. It lays prime importance on the need to develop labour's political independence and attain a higher degree of class consciousness.[1]

The "human relations" doctrine impedes the advancement of the working people's class consciousness, thereby undermining the strength of the labour movement, however, it could never do away with the class struggle altogether. It can only hold it in check temporarily but cannot wipe out its root cause—the conflict between the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This class conflict does not always assume the same form, nor is it uniformly

[1] See Gus Hall, "Programme of Struggle for Democracy Against Monopoly Rule", *World Marxist Review*, 1966, No. 5, p. 18.

intense: some forms are more concealed, others more overt, but whatever the form it is going on all the time. Relative improvements in living conditions for union workers by no means imply the end of class conflict. On the contrary it serves as yet another reminder of that conflict, since it is only through struggle be it concealed or open, passive or active that workers wrest improved conditions from their employers.

The wide-scale adoption of "human relations" methods by the American corporations could not possibly have led and indeed did not lead to the promised "class peace". The uninterrupted wave of fierce strike battles waged by the working people has demonstrated with growing clarity the ill-founded nature of the promises made by champions of the "human relations" doctrine. This inconsistency accounts for the critical position in which the "human relations" men found themselves at the end of the fifties and beginning of the sixties. At that period the strike movement in the capitalist countries continued to make significant advances on a far wider scale than the strikes of the pre-war period had ever attained. In these countries between the wars an average of 3,800,000 people went on strike each year,[1] while between 1946 and 1963 the annual average was 12 million.[2] During the sixties the annual average was 53,400,000 and in 1970 alone 70 million people came out on strike.[3] The table on page 131 illustrates the growth of the strike movement in the USA.[4]

The range of demands made by strikers is becoming increasingly wider. Major changes that have taken place in American economics, the technological revolution, recent developments in state-monopoly capitalism have resulted in the American strike movement attaching prime importance to such points as security of employment, a 35-hour week, increased wages, better pension and medical insurance schemes and also the right for unions to participate in drawing

[1] See *World Marxist Review*, 1971, No. 6.

[2] See *Mezhdunarodnoye revolyutsionnoye dvizhenie rabochego klassa* (The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class), Moscow, 1966, p. 245.

[3] *World Marxist Review*, 1971, No. 6.

[4] *The Statistical Abstract of the US 1946-1965; ILO. Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, Geneva, 1965, p. 694.

Dynamics of the Strike Movement in the USA

Year	Number of Strikes	Number of Strikers (thous)	Number of Working Days Lost through Strikes (mln)
1927			
1939*	1,772	773	14.3
1945	4,750	3,467	38.0
1950	4,843	2,410	38.8
1955	4,320	2,650	28.2
1960	3,333	1,320	19.1
1965	3,963	1,550	23.3
1966	4,115	1,792	25.1
1967	4,595	2,870	42.1
1968	4,950	2,630	47.3

* Annual averages.

up labour regulations. The latter point includes the right of unions to participate in decisions effecting hiring and firing, in fixing production norms and time scales, the duration of breaks, job and over-time allocation, the introduction of new technology, improvements in working conditions, etc.

These rights are by no means of secondary importance and they are apportioned not in accordance with the employer's "good will" but wrested from him by the working people's unrelenting struggle. In class battles trade unions won the right to a voice in decisions on questions that imply a certain restraint on arbitrary intensification of labour that employers would otherwise force through, and also on mass dismissals, a fate that is hanging over the heads of more and more workers in view of increasing automation.

Since the end of the fifties the American monopolies have been doing battle against the unions through what they call the adaptation of labour regulations to the demands of automation which in practice means that they have been setting out to do away with these regulations and consequently to remove this obstacle on the way to intensified exploitation of the workers. However the American working class has come out decisively in defence of its rights and demonstrated that it "will not accept the bitter fruit of unemployment as the end-result of automation".[1] It has been putting up powerful resistance to employers' encroachments on its

[1] *Political Affairs*, January 1965, pp. 7-8.

rights. A striking example of this was the famous 116-day strike of 500,000 steel workers in 1959 which ended in a victory for the workers and was a highly significant example for millions of workers in other branches of industry. Other strikes which possessed important implications for the labour movement as a whole were the strike of 150,000 workers at General Electric in 1969 which lasted for almost a hundred days, the nationwide strike of railwaymen in 1970 in which 500,000 blue- and white-collar workers took part and many other strikes besides.

Increasingly militant attitudes found among rank-and-file union members constitute an important new development in the American labour movement of today. These attitudes manifest themselves for example in the emergence of "unofficial" or "wild-cat" strikes, i.e., strikes which begin without the knowledge of Right-wing union bureaucrats or despite their wishes. Cases where union leaders are prevailed upon by the rank and file to declare a strike are becoming more and more frequent. One of the largest actions ever taken by the workers in the motor industry—a five-week strike of 260,000 workers in 80 of General Motors plants in 1964—began in precisely this way: in the course of the strike the workers wrested from their employers enforcement of contract obligations, minimum safeguards of humane and decent working conditions, relief from excessive and arbitrary overtime work, and respect for human dignity and decency.[1]

Under pressure from rank-and-file members trade union bosses are often compelled to review contract settlements. Former Secretary of Labour Willard Wirtz has stressed this fact in tones of alarm on a number of occasions, noting that very often agreements reached between union leadership and employers are rejected at meetings of rank-and-file union members meaning that union leaders find themselves forced to return to the negotiating table for further discussion.[2] According to figures published by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in 1967 union members directly engaged in production rejected as unsatisfactory one out of every

[1] *AFL-CIO News*, October 3, 1964, p. 12.

[2] See George Meyers, "New Trends in the American Unions", *Pravda*, February 22, 1967.

seven labour contracts concluded by union leaders in their name.[1]

Another recent development in the union rank and file has been the active participation of young workers. In the last few years the age structure of the labour in force in leading branches of industry has changed considerably. Over a million of the 1½ million workers employed in the motor industry have a service record of less than five years. Half of these are under thirty and in addition three-fifths of the young workers are Negroes.[2] A similar picture is to be found in the steel, aviation and electrical engineering industries. The urge to campaign for radical change is particularly marked in the case of young workers. They are demanding much more from their employers than older workers. Another significant factor in this connection is the participation of young Negroes in the rank-and-file union activities, for the number of young Negroes now employed in leading branches of industry is rising steadily. Negro workers set the pace in the opposition to intensification of labour, dangerous working conditions and disgraceful instances of racialism within the unions themselves. Young workers now represent the driving force behind the union rank and file of today.

The increased activity of the union rank and file has disrupted the compromising manoeuvres of the union bosses. In recent years it has become more and more common for Right-wing union leaders, who had previously been pursuing their treacherous policies unimpeded for many a long year, to be defeated at national union congresses. At the steel workers' congress in 1965 for instance after many years in power David McDonald, known as one of the main sponsors for the "human relations committee" in the steel industry, was not re-elected as union president. A factor by no means negligible in securing his defeat was the dissatisfaction among rank-and-file union members and local leaders with the work of this committee, which virtually deprived them of the opportunity to exert any influence over their trade union.

[1] *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, July 1968, Vol. 21, No. 4, p. 518.

[2] G. Meyers, "New Features in the Labor Movement in the USA", *World Marxist Review*, 1970, No. 6, p. 73.

Another development of recent years has been the increasingly obvious intenability of the policies pursued by Meany and Lovestone who now rule the roost in the AFL-CIO. This can be inferred for example from the fact that the Alliance for Labour Action has been set up by two of the largest US unions—the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—IBT (with a membership of over two million) and the United Automobile Workers—UAW (with a membership of 1,600,000) which broke away from the AFL-CIO. At the ALA's inaugural conference in May 1969 the leaders of these two unions came out in open opposition to the foreign policy pursued by American imperialists, condemning the war in Vietnam and the increase in military expenditure.

The ALA conference demanded the implementation of two important reforms on a nation-wide scale which possessed considerable political significance. One of these was concerned with health care and the other with taxation, in other words questions of major concern to American workers. It was decided at the conference that a new massive organising drive would be launched particularly among the low-paid workers in the service industries. George Meyers, Secretary to the National Committee of the US Communist Party, stressed that the ALA leadership "provides one part of the kind of Left-center coalition in the trade union movement that is needed to meet the new problems facing the workers. The Left in the trade unions were merely crushed during past periods of repression. The rapid rebuilding is essential to the further development of the ALA and other healthy trends. The heightened class struggle is creating a clearly discernible trend toward radicalization among workers, which creates a more favorable opportunity to raise their level of class consciousness, and win them to the theories of Marxism-Leninism".[1] Communists are called upon to play a decisive role in this situation. At the present time the US Communist Party's programme states that Communists enhance the socialist consciousness of the labour movement and bring significantly nearer the prospects of the working-class

[1] G. Meyers, *New Phenomena in the US Labor Movement. Kommunist*, 1969, No. 17, pp. 119, 120.

final victory over capitalism, thus providing a firm defence against all types of ideological weapons utilised by the capitalists to weaken and split the working class.

The relentless struggle of the working class testifies unmistakably to the groundlessness of the promises made by the advocates of the "human relations" and points to the crisis the doctrine is now faced with. One of the symptoms of this crisis is the increasing amount of criticism that bourgeois writers have been levelling at "human relations" since the end of the fifties. The journal *Current Sociology* pointed out that "discordant voices have jolted the unanimous approval for 'human relations' it received for so long".[1] In 1961 criticism even came from the Director-General of the ILO who felt obliged to admit that the methods advocated by Mayo and his colleagues had definite shortcomings.

Unlike propaganda in support of "human relations" which was and is being conducted on a very wide scale and most energetically both in specialised publications and those of general interest, criticism of the doctrine coming from the pens of bourgeois sociologists is most moderate in tone and appears mainly in specialised literature on sociology, psychology and management and also in the business press. It is not in the bourgeoisie's interests to proclaim abroad that a doctrine is inconsistent and is based on ideas such as "class cooperation" and the "humanisation" of modern capitalism which it is so important for monopoly capital to disseminate. So it is no chance coincidence that led the journal *Current Sociology* to acknowledge that "most of the writings which support the traditional conception of 'human relations' keep the upper hand and are still widely used in official and semi-official US propaganda".[2]

Bourgeois criticism of the "human relations" doctrine is far from stereotyped. It approaches the subject from a wide variety of different, even mutually incompatible angles. Representatives of big business criticise it for its "impracticability" while a small group of liberally inclined sociologists, journalists and industrial executives find fault with its anti-humanist pro-management flavour.

[1] *Current Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1963-1964, p. 125.
[2] Ibid.

One of these liberal critics, William Whyte, defines the doctrine as a "sugar-coating" for the old "mixture", i.e., for the former grasping policy of the corporations: the only innovation according to Whyte is that whereas the executive in the old days "wanted primarily ... your sweat" now, equipped with "human relations" techniques, "the new man wants your soul".[1]

The true aims of the doctrine have also been exposed in the writings of the most radical of American bourgeois sociologists, C. Wright Mills. He points out that these aims are to lower production costs, reduce tension inside the factory and find a new means of defending big business at a time when the gulf between the tiny island of corporation-owners and the ocean of wage workers is growing steadily bigger. The pro-management essence of the doctrine is also laid bare in Baritz's book *The Servants of Power* which led one of the fervent champions of "human relations", W. Scott, to term the book "provocative".[2] The anti-humanist essence and inconsistency of the doctrine have been singled out by certain of those charged with implementing its principles in practice, who at first were sincerely convinced that in their role as counsellors or "human relations" practitioners they really could make themselves useful to workers and help them. An interesting admission of this nature was made by Georges Friedmann: "In the course of their career most of them (counsellors—*N.B.*) come to realise that the people they are listening to need 'therapy' of a different, more profound kind—economic, legal or medical. However their boss (even counsellors have supervisors) rapidly put them back on the straight and narrow. They are reminded: 'Remember that we are concerned with attitudes to problems, not problems themselves.' Thus the counsellor grasps all too quickly the narrow limits of his function. In short he too is being 'adjusted' and 'integrated' to suit the factory."[3] Jeanne and Harold Wilensky who spent a number of years working as counsellors at Western Electric reached the conclusion that "personnel

[1] W. H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, pp. 50, 440.
[2] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management*, p. 426.
[3] G. Friedmann, *Où va le travail humain?*, p. 422.

counselling" programmes served first and foremost the employers' interests.[1]

A statement by Richards, a young counsellor at Western Electric, is also revealing in this respect: "People come to me and let off steam. Sometimes instead of just listening to them I feel like stepping in and giving them advice. But still more frequently I'm glad that I'm not meant to give any advice. If I really wanted to get to the root of the trouble, where might that lead?"[2] Although he does not even attempt to answer this question, the very way it is asked shows that certain of the men implementing "human relations" principles appreciate the illusory nature of the hope that their work might bring men help or relief.

Yet another revealing statement cited by Robert Jungk is that made by the head of a personnel department in a large Detroit company: "It was me who first called in these 'mind-twisters' and their research assistants. I held science in great respect and really hoped that I was doing something to help our people along. But what came of it? Just a great big prying and rummaging act, ridiculous playing-about with forms, statistics and tests by the dozen.... These methods are supposed to have improved the productivity in our factory, however I doubt it despite the figures. But even if that were so the price we are paying for it is too high. Our factory's become a world without walls, without any respect for people's right to individual tastes or a private life of their own."[3] The author of these words was frightened to express his opinion openly to the company management lest he should find himself without a job (Jungk had learnt that an "energetic No. 2" was making every effort to land his post, a man concerned only to secure profit for the company and keep a check on employees' loyalties). Jungk writes that he was deeply alarmed by the mass-scale application of various controls over the individual in the United States. He justly regards these as a violation of the American people's democratic traditions.[4]

[1] Jeanne and Harold H. Wilensky, "Personnel Counselling: The Hawthorne Case", *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1951, pp. 266-69.

[2] Quotation from R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 201.

[3] R. Jungk, *Die Zukunft hat schon begonnen*, S. 202-03.

[4] Ibid., p. 219.

Criticism from liberally inclined sociologists and journalists anxiously following the escalation of the corporations' power and the increasing extent to which they are using "manipulation techniques" to achieve their selfish ends starts out from abstract humanist assumptions. This prevents them from appreciating that the anti-humanist implications of "human relations" in practice stem directly from the exploitation inherent in capitalism and this criticism therefore cannot be anything but limited and shallow. However it is valuable in so far as it furthers the exposure of the true aims behind the doctrine and brings them to the public's attention.

Critical comments are also addressed at the "human relations" doctrine by representatives of monopoly capital. However this is criticism of a different kind, as we are reminded by L. Cooper, who writes that "serious business men of today are deeply disappointed in 'human relations' policies and consider that 'human relations' achievement has not matched its promises".[1] Many employers and executives have complained that time and cost are factors which are frequently overlooked by "human relations" experts,[2] although they have a direct bearing on profit. An unabashed champion of big business interests, Robert McMurry, is constantly stressing that the "human relations" viewpoint is impractical.[3] Peter Drucker singles out its ineffectiveness, maintaining that "the 'human relation' doctrine tends to degenerate into mere slogans",[4] and that "information and indoctrination" backed up with "psychoanalysing the worker to 'adjust' him to the plant-situation" are utterly insufficient to enable the management to overcome all the problems with which it is faced and which are no mere "illusions to be dispelled".[5]

When analysing bourgeois criticism of the "human relations" doctrine it should be borne in mind that however demagogic "human relations" programmes might be, the monopolies find themselves obliged to implement them. This is why they give rise to an instinctive sense of protest in

[1] Quotation from *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 446.
[2] L. Baritz, *Servants of Power...*, p. 171.
[3] Quotation from W. G. Bennis, "Revisionist Theory of Leadership", *Harvard Business Review*, January-February 1961, p. 34.
[4] P. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, New York, 1954, p. 279.
[5] P. Drucker, *The New Society*, p. 167.

many employers, even in those cases where the protest does not come into the open. In 1961 the *Harvard Business Review* reported that "only about 10 per cent of them (managers—*N.B.*) really believe in the human relations approach."[1] In another organ of big business, *Advanced Management Journal*, it was noted how many employers and executives were sickened by the way in which many of the psychologists engaged in "human relations" "have attempted to transfer the whole baggage of ego-motivation, group participation, inter-group dynamics and people-are-people love stuff to the collective bargaining room".[2] So it is not surprising that as Denis Beach admits there is a large gulf between "human relations" theory and its implementation in American industry. "At the intellectual level many business executives are quite familiar with significant research results and theory, yet they have not extensively applied this knowledge at the operating level." He goes on to add that "the state of the art of supervision, leadership, discipline, communication, counselling and the related functions involved in managing people in a work organisation is still surprisingly crude in many enterprises. Brusqueness, crudeness, arbitrary discharges, disregard of employees' needs, poor leadership, continual strife and related difficulties are endemic to many, many establishments".[3]

Right-wing critics are concerned to note that social demagogy stemming from the doctrine of "human relations" might lead young managers to see their function as care for the employees' welfare. Many of them warn of undesirable consequences to which various "human relations" methods might lead. This is true for example of the writings of Malcolm McNair,[4] Theodore Levitt[5] and T. Haimann[6] to name but a few. J. Worthy for example asserts that the

[1] Quotation from W. G. Bennis, "Revisionist Theory of Leadership", *Harvard Business Review*, January-February 1961, p. 34.

[2] *Advanced Management Journal*, August 1959, p. 10.

[3] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, pp. 29, 767.

[4] M. P. McNair, "Thinking Ahead: What Price Human Relations?", *Harvard Business Review*, March-April, 1957.

[5] T. Levitt, "The Dangers of Social Responsibility", *Harvard Business Review*, September-October, 1958.

[6] T. Haimann, *Professional Management. Theory and Practice*, Boston, 1962.

granting of even modest powers to the workers would whet their appetites for more and intesify their union activities.[1]

Among the present-day critics of the "human relations" doctrine there are also some who only yesterday were its fervent supporters but, like W. F. Whyte, have started talking about rude awakening to the actual state of affairs that has shattered all their hopes of miraculous results from "human relations" programmes.[2] They reject the statements of those advocates of the doctrine who explain its being discredited by merely referring to "opportunistic counselling of witch-doctors" or simply "unsophisticated approaches to human relations by managerial practitioners".[3] W. F. Whyte aptly observes that "there are certain forces operating that are more powerful than the human relations techniques of individual executives or union leaders".[4] J. Dunlop, H. Sheppard, C. Kerr, A. Siegel, G. Friedmann, R. Bendix and W. Moore, to name but a few, call attention to the mistaken disregard on the part of those advocating "human relations" for material, economic and organisational factors and also to the ill-advised approach to each factory as a self-contained isolated unit and the unfortunate over-emphasis of the irrational in employees' behaviour and the general exaggeration of the role of the psychological factors.[5]

Various types of training for technical supervisors in "human relations" skills also come in for serious criticism. It is pointed out that the programmes incorporating Mayo's ideas involve tremendous expenditure and by no means

[1] *Research in Industrial Human Relations*, pp. 41-42.
[2] W. F. Whyte, *Men at Work*, p. 11.
[3] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management*, p. 4.
[4] W. F. Whyte, *Men at Work*, p. 11.
[5] J. T. Dunlop and W. F. Whyte, "A Framework for the Analysis of Industrial Relations: Two Views", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 3, 1950, pp. 383-412; H. Sheppard, "Approaches to Conflict in American Industrial Sociology", *Readings in Human Relations*, pp. 171-90; C. Kerr and A. Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity to Strike", *Industrial Conflict*, Ed. by Kornhauser, R. Dubin, and A. Ross, New York, 1954; G. Friedmann, *Problèmes humains du mechanisme industriel*, Paris, 1946; R. Bendix, "Compliance and Initiative in Bureaucratic Conduct", *Human Relations in Administration*, Ed. by R. Dubin, New York, 1951; W. Moore, "Current Issues in Industrial Sociology", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 12, 1947, pp. 651-57.

always achieve desired results.[1] American sociologist James Mosel writes: "The proverbial quip, 'the operation was a success but unfortunately the patient died', would seem to be particularly pertinent to industrial training programmes (in "human relations" skills—*N.B.*). All too often, we find, the training was a success in that the employee learned; but unfortunately, the learning was not converted into on-the-job behavior."[2] Special research to investigate the effectiveness of training in these "skills" in a number of large companies has shown that such training does not improve relations between technical supervisors and workers. This is borne out by the following incident described by the well-known "human relations" expert Dr. Leland Bradford. One of the foremen who had taken a special course in "human relations" lost his bearings to such an extent that his relations with the workers in his charge at the factory not only failed to improve but even deteriorated. "The behavior gradually improved as the impact of training wore off" but it was two years before "the foreman had recovered the ground lost from training".[3]

A number of sociologists see the reason for the failure of "human relations" training programmes as nothing more than the fact that they are laid on in the main for junior supervisors while higher management is unaware of and does not practise this pattern of management itself.[4] Others meanwhile maintain that the fault lies above all with the weaknesses inherent in various training methods.[5] In other

[1] J. R. Tréanton and J. D. Reynaud, "Industrial Sociology 1951-1962. A Trend Report and Bibliography", *Current Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1963-1964, p. 125; J. Surface, "Resistance to Training", *Human Relations for Management*, p. 293; *Research in Human Industrial Relations*, p. 154; A. Etzioni, "Dramatic and Non-Democratic Supervision in Industry", *Human Relations*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 47-51.

[2] J. Mosel, "Why Training Programs Fail to Carry Over", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 300.

[3] Leland P. Bradford, *Human Relations in Industry, Rome Conference*, p. 239.

[4] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...*, p. 349; R. H. Guest, "The Impact of Changing Technology on Human Relations". *The Emerging Environment of Industrial Relations*, pp. 58-62; N.R.F. Maier, *Principles of Human Relations*, New York, 1952.

[5] J. Mosel, "Why Training Programs Fail to Carry Over", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 302; A. Zaleznik, *Foreman Training in a*

words they are calling not for a rejection of such training courses altogether but merely for various "improvements" in them.

It is the "participative approach" or so-called democratic management which has come under heavier fire from bourgeois critics than all other aspects of the "human relations" doctrine, in so far as this method is hardest of all to reconcile with the exploitation indispensable to capitalist production. In publications put out by big business and in sociological literature it is being pointed out more and more frequently that this practice does not "justify itself", that it is by no means capable of working the miracles promised by advocates of the "human relations" approach.[1] That mouthpiece of the corporations *Fortune* magazine writes that "participation isn't producing the hoped-for results".[2] This explains why there are now increasingly frequent calls for keeping on with old authoritarian methods and for dropping all talk of "democratisation of production".[3] Meanwhile lively discussion of what is meant by "participative methods" and "democratic management" continues. Some parties maintain that these terms merely imply polite treatment of subordinates while others read into them a great deal more, even involvement of workers in the actual planning of production.

Management of industrial production in itself is highly complex in so far as it is bound up with the social process of labour. Modern industrial production in order to function successfully requires the involvement of a large number of

Growing Enterprise, Boston, 1951; W. F. Whyte, "Human Relations Theory: A Progress Report", *Harvard Business Review,* September-October 1956.

[1] *UNESCO. Some Application of Behavioral Research,* Ed. by R. Lickert and S. Hayes, Paris, 1957, p. 54; W.F. Whyte and F. B. Miller, "Industrial Sociology", *Review of Sociology,* p. 307; *Current Sociology,* Vol. XII, No. 2, 1963-1964, p. 125.

[2] *Fortune,* May 1967, p. 169.

[3] R. McMurry, "The Case for Benevolent Autocracy", *Harvard Business Review,* January-February 1958; Th. Levitt, "The Dangers of Social Responsibility", *Harvard Business Review,* September-October 1958; H. Northrup, "The Case for Boulvarism", *Harvard Business Review,* September-October 1963; C. Hardwick and B. Landwyt, *Administration Strategy,* New York, 1961, p. 29; T. Haimann, *Professional Management. Theory and Practice,* p. 462.

people in management. However in the capitalist countries the narrow framework of capitalist production based on exploitation makes genuinely democratic management in industry impossible. Various views put forward by bourgeois sociologists in the USA concerning "workers' participation" or "participative methods" reflect these conflicting trends, the clash between which serves to accentuate the basic contradiction between productive forces and relations of production in capitalist society.

Confronted by the working people's unabating strike movement certain bourgeois sociologists find themselves obliged to acknowledge as erroneous one of the main premises of the "human relations" doctrine, namely that concerning the "parallel" or "common" interests shared by workers and employers. They call attention to the utopian wish of "human relations" experts to eliminate industrial conflicts and turn all the employees of a plant into one "happy family".[1] At the same time they accuse the doctrine's adherents of interpreting the nature and causes of such conflict in an oversimplified, unrealistic way. "We have had to moderate the optimism of some of the early human-relations researchers who took that parallelism (of workers' and employers' interests—*N.B.*) for granted and equated conflict with ignorance or lack of skill in human relations,"[2] maintains Herbert Simon, a well-known industrial sociologist. His words are echoed by those of another American sociologist E. Richmond. "Preoccupation with psychological aspects among those concerned with Human Relations in Industry has led to an unrealistic avoidance of the problem of conflict or to naive assumptions concerning its elimination. There has been a tendency to assume that there is no real conflict of interests between labor and management and that the adoption of the right kind of technique by an enlightened personnel department will create a state of harmony in which workers and managers alike will collaborate in the pursuit of the manifest objectives of the organisation. Such an approach fails to recognise that conflict, as understood in the sociological sense, can exist independently of the

[1] *Harvard Business Review*, January-February 1961, p. 31.
[2] *Research in Industrial Human Relations*, p. 115.

subjective reactions of members of a group. Friendly relations may exist between the man of the bench and the works manager or the chairman of Directors, but this does not alter the fact that the interests of the employee in maintaining his job are not the same as the interests of the employer in employing him, as will be quickly shown at a time of trade depression."[1]

It is clear that critics of this mould are prepared even to admit the existence of a "conflict of interests" between workers and employers. However they would cease to be bourgeois sociologists if they drew the only correct conclusion from these admissions to the effect that the conflict of interests between labour and capital stems from the exploitation inherent in capitalist society and that the essential condition for the elimination of this antagonism is the reorganisation of society on socialist principles. In their familiar role as the champions of the bourgeois interests these sociologists proceed to present industrial conflict in a "democratic pluralistic society" as, indeed, "a necessary process both between and within groups".[2] Indeed another American sociologist D. Rose maintains that "there is nothing unnatural or abnormal about industrial conflict".[3]

Discussion of the "inevitability" and "naturalness" of industrial conflict in capitalist society is most revealing. They point to the fact that the militant action of the working class has forced champions of capitalism to abandon their hopes of doing away with the class struggle and creating a "peaceful", "harmonious" industrial society. Now they no longer dream of eliminating industrial conflict but merely of containing it "within definite limits",[4] which would not represent a threat to the very existence of the capitalist system. Their goals are far less ambitious nowadays: they would be content with trying to "lessen the bitterness of the strife",[5] "reducing frustrations, conflicts, threats, anxieties

[1] Quotation from A. Rose, *Sociology. The Study of Human Relations*, p. 497.

[2] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 295.

[3] A. Rose, *Sociology. The Study of Human Relations*, p. 496.

[4] D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, p. 295.

[5] R. McMurry, "Conflict in Human Values", *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1963, p. 134.

and hostilities",[1] and arriving at "a 'modus vivendi' based on wisdom and political compromise".[2]

There is every reason for assessing these statements made by bourgeois sociologists as a virtual acknowledgement of the fact that monopoly capital's position has grown weaker, now that in order to preserve its domination it is obliged to make various concessions as far as relations with labour are concerned.

In the works of some critics of "human relations" such as Chris Argyris for instance, acknowledgement of the conflict of interests between workers and employers finds expression in discussion of the incompatibility of the "needs of the individual" and the "requirements of the formal organisation" (read: corporation). There is no denying Argyris's powers of observation when he writes that "the present business structure" makes people "dependent, subordinate, passive and apathetic" with regard to their work and the company's interests.[3] Douglas McGregor, a professor at MIT, has pointed out that inherent in human nature there is tremendous potential for inspired dedicated work, but for this to come into its own it is essential that management should "arrange organisational conditions and methods of operation so that people can achieve their own goals best by directing their own efforts toward organisational objectives."[4]

Since they defend the bourgeois mode of production these authors are unable to reach an understanding of the fact that the "interests of the individual" and the "aims of the organisation" cannot be approached as something abstract, separate from the class structure of society, and that in order to achieve the conditions they describe in which the interests of production and those engaged in it will coincide it is imperative to eliminate private ownership of the means of production and reorganise society according to socialist

[1] R. Stagner, "Some Problems in Contemporary Industrial Psychology", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 423.

[2] *Current Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1963-1964, p. 137.

[3] Ch. Argyris, "The Individual and Organization Structure", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 67.

[4] D. McGregor, "The Human Side of Enterprise", *Readings in Human Relations*, p. 56.

principles. Argyris, McGregor and others console themselves with the hope of finding a solution to this problem in the framework of capitalist society, some time in the future. As for the present they are obliged to admit their inability to suggest any concrete steps. As they see it, the search for methods of management that might ensure smooth effective running of production, foster creative activity of employees, and their loyal commitment to the company's interests will be as slow, costly and sometimes discouraging an approach as research into atomic energy.[1] Keith Davis warned in his turn that it was wrong to expect too much from "human relations", for "human relations" techniques will not solve the unemployment problem; nor will they make up for the management's own negligence: compensate for poor planning, bad organisation or weak control.[2]

Energetic recommendations on the part of sociologists to company executives that the latter should make a realistic assessment of the situation and not expect rapid results from the practical implementation of "human relations" policies provide yet another illustration of the crisis the doctrine was facing in the late fifties and early sixties.

However the fact that this crisis appeared did not in the least mean that monopoly capital rejected the theory and practice of "human relations" out of hand. It merely led to a certain evolution. Even the critics of the doctrine are by no means inclined to reject all its tenets. A revealing case is that of one of the most active champions of monopolist interests, namely sociologist Peter Drucker. He points out that when criticising this doctrine it should not be condemned to oblivion since the ideas fundamental to it constitute the cornerstone of human organisation.[3] Drucker then proceeds to give full credit to the achievements of the pioneers of "human relations", and indeed sees himself as their follower, while at the same time calling attention to the utter inadequacy of their achievements. He considers it would not be "economically expedient" for the business world to pin too many hopes on the "human relations" doctrine and

[1] *Readings in Human Relations*, pp. 59, 67, 69.
[2] K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 541.
[3] P. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, p. 279.

like a number of other sociologists recommends that the basic principles of Scientific Organisation (Taylor's system—*N.B.*) should be preserved side by side with the fundamental tenets of the "human relations" doctrine.[1] This idea of an "extended version" of scientific organisation including human relations, in other words a reconciliation of the principles inherent in Taylor's system and the "human relations" doctrine, is supported currently by the majority of American industrial sociologists, including such experts as W. F. Whyte, Alvin Gouldner, Herbert Simon, Renais Likert, Maison Haire, A. Zaleznik, Keith Davis and R. Tannenbaum.

The basic tenets of "human relations" theory and practice are now propagated in this renovated form in works devoted specifically to the subject of "human relations" or in more general textbooks on sociology, social psychology and industrial management. Frequent reference is also made to certain techniques that have been used to implement "human relations" principles in American industry for a good number of years. As before factories put out their own publicity, mass surveys of workers are organised and certain types of non-material incentives are kept up, leisure activities are laid on for the workers and opportunities provided for unofficial contacts with company management. The extent of "welfare allowances" and "profit-sharing" are still determined by the economic situation and the militancy of the working people's struggle. Use is still made of "small groups" and training courses provided for technical supervisors in the basic theory and practice of "human relations". However all these methods now used in capitalist enterprises are often not officially linked with the term "human relations".[2]

[1] Ibid., p. 287.

[2] In the second edition of his book on "human relations" published in 1962, Keith Davis recommends that when training programmes are laid on for supervisors to improve their "human relations" skills the term should not be included in titles for training programmes so as not to prejudice trainees' attitudes to such programmes: instead he suggests using terms used to designate specific techniques employed in the practice of "human relations", such as "communication", etc. (K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work*, p. 147).

The impasse at which the doctrine has arrived has resulted in a certain discrediting of the term. In the sixties, William G. Scott admits, "even the name 'human relations' strikes a sour note with some managers and scholars in the behavioral sciences. For many today, the field of human relations represents at best a rather pedestrian effort and at worst a cynical attempt to manipulate people".[1] It is therefore no accident that in recent years there has been a trend even in sociological writings to use the term "human relations" as rarely as possible—as noted in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* put out in the USA in 1968, which observed that "the term 'human relations' itself is not without unfavorable connotation".[2] Many authors approach specific tenets of the theory and practice of "human relations" as independent questions. Others bracket them together with such terms as "organisational behavior" or present them as an aspect of research carried in behavioral sciences, i.e., in research involving the study of various aspects of man's behaviour and activities.[3] A revealing example of this trend is proffered by the decision of William G. Scott, a well-known "human relations" expert, to exclude the term "human relations" from the title of his book *Human Relations in Organization.* When republished in 1967 it appeared with the title *Organizational Theory. A Behavioral Analysis for Management.* The term is not even used in the article on Elton Mayo in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* where he is referred to as a "behavioral scientist".[4]

The largest of the US corporations which were the first to popularise "human relations" on a wide scale (General Electric, Standard Oil, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Bell Telephone, etc.) have now behavioral scien-

[1] W. G. Scott, *Human Relations in Management,* p. 4.

[2] *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Ed. by David L. Sills, Vol. 7, New York, 1968, p. 240.

[3] D. S. Beach, *Personnel...,* p. 54; K. Davis, *Human Relations at Work,* p. VII; see also F. Roethlisberger's preface to Elton Mayo's *Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization,* New York, 1962, pp. IX, XII.

[4] *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Vol. 10, pp. 82-83.

tists on their staffs as researchers or consultants.[1] Indeed in 1959 General Electric established a "Behavioral Research Service" in which well-known professors of sociology such as Renais Likert, Herbert Simon and Maison Haire were invited to participate.[2] Ford founded a special Centre for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences.[3] As a general rule large sums are being spent on research in this field in the United States. According to Hollis W. Peter, president of the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior in 1961, 650 million dollars were spent on research in this field. What is more, Peter considered this sum an insufficient proportion of the 15,000 million dollars allocated that same year to scientific research as a whole. He pressed those in charge of the corporations to bring the necessary pressure to bear on the US government to persuade it to increase the sums earmarked for "social and behavioral science", the findings of which he saw as no less important as those of technology.[4] At the famous *Sloane School of Management* attached to MIT, which lays on training and development courses for executives at all levels, the "study of organisational behaviour" has been a compulsory subject on all curricula since 1969.

Thus it is clear that criticism of this doctrine in a number of cases has resulted in the change of nothing other than the term, a term that held out too many promises, by another neutral term, under the cover of which social scientists continue to search for new, more sophisticated, psychological means of exploiting and stultifying the working people. These research projects are to a large extent based on ideas put forward by the founders of the "human relations" schools. In 1964 the journal *Current Sociology* noted that the "path charted out by Mayo, Levin and their pupils had neither lost its appeal nor ceased to lead to fruitful research: the emphasis laid on communication, the wish to approach the enterprise as a social system, interest in the function of small

[1] *Advanced Management Journal*, 1964, No. 4, p. 24.

[2] L. L. Ferguson, "Social Scientists in the Plant", *Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1964, pp. 133-34, 142-43.

[3] W. F Whyte, *Organization Man*, p. 257.

[4] H. W. Peter, "Using Behavioral Science in Management", *Advanced Management Journal*, October 1964, p. 25.

groups and their influence on productivity and workers' contentment, the concern to achieve more democratic management and finally the endeavour to achieve a balance between employees' motivation and the interests of the enterprise—all these invariable components of the 'human relations' school are to be encountered in present-day research".[1] This research is now no longer accompanied by sweeping promises that were so typical of the heyday of the "human relations" doctrine.

The basic tenets of "human relations" theory have become indispensable ingredients of all modern theories of organisation and management, be it the "empirical", "social-systems" or "new" school (the latter incorporating various aspects of the theory of automation, cybernetics and systems analysis).[2] In the course of this evolution "human relations" techniques have become increasingly sophisticated and subtle.

However regardless of all the new methods and devices thought up by the advocates of the "human relations" doctrine, the best they can hope for is temporary influence. The exploitation inherent in capitalism is bound to lead to social clashes and fan class struggle that will eventually put an end to any positive individual assessments of "their company" and to any "loyalty" on the part of workers obtained at such cost by company executives with the help of the cunning methods laid down by "human relations" policy. This is why the "human relations" doctrine is doomed to fail as an ideological weapon of the monopolies in their struggle against the labour movement, regardless of the degree to which it evolves or is adapted to suit changing conditions.

[1] *Current Sociology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1963-64, pp. 123-24.

[2] A detailed critical analysis of modern bourgeois theories of management and organisation is provided in D. A. Gvishiani's *Organisation and Management*, Moscow, 1970.

CONCLUSION

The emergence and subsequent wide-scale adoption of the "human relations" doctrine cannot be viewed in isolation from the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. The fact that the monopolies are obliged more and more frequently to resort to social manoeuvres such as the "human relations" policy, which is in essense alien to the authoritarian character of capitalist production, testifies yet again to the ever weak position of the bourgeoisie.

The "human relations" doctrine, which came into being as a means for intensifying exploitation of workers through fuller use of the individual's productive capacity, in particular his psychological reserves, has turned in the course of its development into yet another of capitalism's propaganda gimmicks and become an important ideological weapon for the monopolies in their offensive against the labour movement. This doctrine differs from other theories in defense of capitalism firstly in that it is designed to uphold the domination of the bourgeoisie not only with regard to theory, but also and indeed still more so with regard to the practical, everyday aspects of relations between labour and capital. Secondly, it is aimed as countering the influence of communist ideas among the working people in the capitalist countries not through an open negation of socialism or onslaught against it, but indirectly by means of "positive programmes" devised to embellish the capitalist system as it exists today. Thirdly, the main core of the doctrine is not

so much the political and socio-economic ideas it propagates as the socio-psychological concepts on which "human relations" in practice are based.

Socio-psychological factors are not the fundamental and all-important factors determining the nature of relations between workers and employers, however, in view of their relative self-dependency they can exert far-reaching influence on men's behaviour. Experts in the theory and practice of "human relations" attempt to use certain patterns they have singled out empirically in the functioning of the highly complex socio-psychological mechanism, which influences the behaviour of individuals in production groups, to promote the interests of monopoly capital. It is the socio-psychological basis of this doctrine which explains why "human relations" techniques aimed at blunting the class consciousness of the working people have proved effective in some situations.

However the fact that advocates of this doctrine set all their hopes on psychology and choose to ignore dicisive socio-economic laws of social development makes it impossible for them to probe the essence of social phenomena. As a result many of the objective processes they have discerned in the workings of modern capitalist society are represented in a distorted light in their writings and the means they recommend for establishing "co-operation" between labour and capital can only exert a temporary influence and are of an essentially reactionary utopian nature.

The doctrine of "human relations", like any other bourgeois theory serving the interests of capital, is symptomatic of current problems facing capitalist society which demand a solution. Modern productive forces in the context of the technological revolution have attained such a high level of development that their subsequent evolution calls quite clearly for genuine interest in and a creative approach to work on the part of those engaged in it, respect for personal dignity of every worker and the establishment of democratic, free and genuinely human relations between all members of society. Capitalism being, as it is, based on exploitation is not able to provide the conditions indispensable for such relations to evolve. This means that capitalists are obliged to resort to all manner of substitute devices such as the doc-

trine of "human relations", the role of which can be compared to superior lubricant designed to add to the life of an obsolete machine, or to a pain-killer administered to a patient in need of a major operation.

Only by eliminating exploitation and reorganising society according to socialist principles is it possible to establish genuinely human relations between people. The basic factor that sets socialism apart from all previous socio-political formations is its overriding concern with man, his welfare and happiness. Socialism puts man before all else. Respect for human dignity, comradely mutual aid, genuine interest in and a creative approach to work are part and parcel of socialism, which put an end to private ownership of the means of production, did away with exploitation and opened up new possibilities for the expansion of productive forces so as to bring greater prosperity to all members of society.

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This work is a critical study of the "human relations" doctrine widespread in the United States and other capitalist countries. Drawing on a wide range of factual evidence the author exposes the true motives behind the doctrine which constitutes one of the bourgeoisie's most sophisticated tools for the ideological indoctrination of the working people. Nina Bogomolova traces the doctrine's development from its very beginnings to the present day defining its ideological and theoretical sources and analysing in detail the techniques it recommends for the ideological indoctrination of the working people in capitalist industry. The final chapter deals with the "human relations" crisis in the sixties and the more recent developments in that doctrine which followed on from that crisis.

